

ACTA LINGUISTICA

ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

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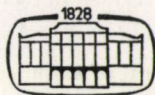
L. BENKŐ, K. BOLLA, M. HUTTERER, S. IMRE, GY. LAKÓ,
K. RADICS, S. ROT, GY. SZÉPE, ZS. TELEGDI

REDIGUNT

J. HERMAN ET F. KIEFER

TOMUS XXXI

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The list of Editors and the Editorial Board as shown on the title page of the 1981 Volume of this periodical has changed: Professor C. J. Hutterer is now on the Editorial Board and the Editor-in-Chief, József Herman is assisted by a new co-editor, Ferenc Kiefer.

In various posts, Claus Jürgen Hutterer has been associated with the editorship of *Acta Linguistica* since 1965 and has been one of its editors for 11 years. This journal owes very much to his painstaking and valuable work; however, since he can no longer partake of the day-to-day labour of editing on account of his tenure at the University of Graz, Austria, he has been relieved of the editor's duties but will advise us as a member of the Editorial Board. His responsibilities have been taken over by the new co-editor, Professor Ferenc Kiefer, who is also well-known and highly respected the world over.

These changes, as well as those in the Editorial Board, which were forced upon us by the facts of life, will not alter the general policy of this periodical. In addition to various fields of theoretical linguistics, we will continue focussing our attention mainly on those papers on Hungarian, Uralic, Indo-European, Romance or Germanic linguistics which may command interest beyond the small sphere of experts in view of their theoretical significance or which are of major importance as regards their documentative or informative values.

We trust that our readers as well as our current and prospective contributors will support our efforts in pursuing these aims.

THE KHAZARIAN LETTER FROM KIEV AND ITS ATTESTATION IN RUNIFORM SCRIPT

By

L. LIGETI

I. It is well-known that most of the Geniza material of Cairo was, through S. Schechter's activity, transferred to the University Library of Cambridge in 1896. During the long time that has passed since, this significant material has been prepared for examination and catalogized. 1800 important and perishable manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts have been singled out and preserved between sheets of glass.

In 1962, Norman Golb briefly examined the material between the glass-plates and had them microfilmed. By careful study he noticed that the 8th line of one of the texts, Hebrew in both language and script, contained the name *Kiev* in the form *KYYWB*, that several of the names at the end of the manuscript were not of Semitic origin and, finally, that in the last line, placed at some distance from the rest, there was a word in some foreign script. With the first translation of the Hebrew text in hand, in 1966 Golb contacted Omeljan Pritsak who confirmed Golb's conjecture. The letter, originating from the first half of the 10th century, was a written relic from Khazars of Jewish religion; some of the names were Turkish, and the unknown script was Turkic runiform, recording a Khazarian word.

They jointly reported their discovery in two American scholarly societies in March and June 1967. Later they also had individual presentations at various conferences and explained the significance of the relic; the letter from Kiev was not a copy but an autograph document. The book they published in the meantime¹ has much to offer to Hebrewists, historians of religion, and even researchers of Khazar history. I myself am concerned with some information emerging from the Kiev letter in connection with Khazarian script and language.

The authors devoted the first part of their book (pp. 1-71) to the Kiev letter; in the second part (pp. 75-156) they present anew the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library, first published 70 years ago, which,

¹ Norman Golb—Omeljan Pritsak: *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the 10th Century*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 1982.

as is well-known, contains the letter of an anonymous Khazarian Jew to Hasdai ibn 'Shaprut of Cordoba. I am not competent to qualify Norman Golb's achievement in Hebrewistics as it appears in this book. His name, however, will certainly be remembered: the discovery of the Kiev letter in the Cambridge University Library, where so many distinguished scholars had examined the Geniza material for decades before him, is to be thanked to his keen eyes, as well as to luck. In an earlier work, Omeljan Pritsak successfully commented on two Proto-Bulgarian documents and made significant Turkological remarks on both manuscripts. Thus, it was by no means by chance that Golb sought his advice.

To gain a better understanding of the problems, it may be expedient to recall the following properties of the manuscript.

The manuscript, written on parchment sheet, bears the traces of seven longitudinal foldings and, perhaps, one horizontal folding in the middle, as is usual with Geniza letters. The ink has already turned brown by today, fading here and there. There are two holes in the parchment, one of them damaging the writing as well. The 30-line text is all in Hebrew script, except for the last word, which does not belong to the 30th line and was apparently added to the end of the Hebrew text later, placed in the lefthand corner. This undoubtedly runiform word is somewhat isolated and can by no means be regarded to constitute a 31st line. I will dismiss the paleographical elaboration, referring the reader to Golb's careful work (op. cit., pp. 5—6). The ultraviolet photographic reproduction of the manuscript on p. 9 is to be noted. The original manuscript is presumably lighter than this; in its present form it does not facilitate convenient and unproblematic reading. Unfortunately, on the first and the second reproductions the 8th line belongs to those of a delicate reading; the difficulties are apparently also enhanced by the unusual syntactic configuration. This line contains the name of Kiev too. It is not surprising that in the course of one of the lectures two members of the audience wished to amend this name. Though Golb's objections seem convincing, the doubts cast on the reading defended have not vanished completely.

Drawing on the information provided by Golb the following can be said about this important document (the exact interpretation of the text does not seem to be without difficulties). It is a regular letter of recommendation of the sort that can be found in the Geniza of Cairo in abundance. The content of the letter, according to Golb's translation and interpretation, can be summarized as follows (Golb's own hypotheses cannot always be isolated from the summary). The letter of recommendation was provided for *Mar Yakob ben Hanukkāh* by the Jewish community of Kiev. Mar Yakob's brother borrowed some money. While traveling he was attacked, deprived from his money and beaten to death. Upon receiving this news, the moneylenders sought out Mar Yakob, his guarantor, shackled and imprisoned him. He was suffering there

for a year when "we (presumably, the leaders of the Kiev Khazar Jewish community) took him into our care and paid 60 (gold) coins for him. We provided this letter of recommendation for him in order to enable him to produce the remaining 40 (gold) coins, so that other communities should also be sympathetic to him". This is the letter proper. Pious phrases are followed by the names of those signing the letter.

Golb claims that Mar Yakob went directly to Cairo with this letter in hand. He gives a detailed description of the route on the Dnieper, first to Byzantium (which was also the route taken by the Varangians) and from there to Cairo with one of the regular sea links. It is hardly believable that the money-lenders parted with their money so easily and let Mar Yakob flee at a mere promise. This, however, is indifferent with respect to the new information concerning the Kiev Khazars.

2. One of the important new information provided by the Kiev letter relates to the Khazarian runiform script. The scripts of Khazars are already known to some extent.

The first work to be mentioned is by *Faḥru'd-Dīn Mubārak Šāh*, completed in 1206.² In this work, written in Persian, reference is made to Eastern writings, more exactly, to those of the Sogdians and the Toḡuzḡuz, this latter was certainly runiform. Besides these, the Persian author discusses Khazarian (*hazar*) writing in detail as well, although this is not easy to decipher. According to Mubārak Šāh, the Khazars borrowed their alphabet from the *Rūs*; the same writing is used by the *Rūm-Rūs* people in their vicinity. The script goes from left to right, the letters are not connected to each other, and there are 21 of them. Those Kazars who use this writing are mostly Jewish (*va in tāḡfah az ḥazaryān ki in ḥaṭṭ navisand biṣtar ḡuhūd ānand*). After this there follow specimens of the writing according to the Arabic alphabet. These specimens, except for Sogdian, are entirely useless — the places of the Khazarian letters remain empty in the copy we have.

Sir Denison Ross, the editor of the work, contemplated Cyrillic, and tried to identify the above mentioned *Rūm-Rūs* people as Bulgars. At that time this logical assumption was not easily compatible with the statement of the Persian author according to which this writing was mostly used by Khazars of the Jewish religion. However, on the basis of the material we have available now, this claim cannot be rejected. It has been known for a long time

² Sir E. Denison Rose: The Genealogies of Kakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah. In: A Volume of Oriental Studies, presented to E. G. Brown . . . on his 60th birthday, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (Cambridge 1922), pp. 392–413. Idem. *Ta rikhi-i Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak-shāh* being the historical introduction to the Book of Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvar-rūdī completed in A. D. 1206. In: James G. Forlong Found. London 1927. Cf. Ligeti, L.: A kazár írás és a magyar rovásírás [The Khazarian script and the Hungarian runiform script]. In: Magyar Nyelv XXIII [1927], pp. 473–476.

that the Kazars both knew and used Hebrew writing (and language). Nevertheless, the authenticity of the Persian text cannot be doubted, if an important circumstance is taken into account: the use of Cyrillic writing and intensive Russian contacts could only have been established after the fall of the Khazarian empire. The fact that Cyrillic writing was primarily used by Jewish Khazars needs no special explanation: most of those who were literate were from among them.

We are left with mere hypotheses when seeking the precursors of Turkish runiform with the Khazars. Turkish and Khazarian dynastic contacts (if there were any — we hardly have any evidence) in themselves do not explain the use of the common Turkish runiform. It can hardly be doubted, however, that Western Turks knew the runiform, even though its use remained at a provincial level. Their texts cut in wood have perished, and no writing of significance has survived in stone either. The epitaphs to be found in the Talas-vale, which witness a primitive writing technique, have recently been dated back to the 9–10th century on the basis of archeological arguments — which could not mean anything else than rejecting their Western Turkish origin.³ This is hardly conceivable, however, and the Western Turkish origin of these short and primitive epitaphs remain within the limitation of possibility. It is striking that no significant inscriptions have been found in the Western Turkish area. The situation was not any different in the area of the Eastern Turkish empire either, excepting during the flourishing of the empire. Inscriptions recording major national events come from the second period of Eastern Turkish history, which followed Chinese submission (630–683), and they are unmistakably modelled after Chinese sample.

According to Pritsak, the authorization in runiform of the Kiev letter would amount to the only known survivor of Turkish runiform in the Khazar area, which is both temporally and spatially remarkable: it originates from the late 10th century period and belongs to the area of Kiev, which is more to the West than anything before. Its emergence is even more surprising because we have already known an undeciphered Khazarian runiform in increasing number of relics originating from the territory of the Khazar empire.

J. Németh discussed the problems of relics of this sort as an important branch of East-European runiform systems. As time passed, he had a number

³ J. Németh: Die köktürkischen Grabinschriften aus dem Tale des Talas im Turkestan. *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* II, 1926, pp. 134–143 (only discusses the first five, previously known inscriptions). S. E. Malov: *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pisjmennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii* (Moskva–Leningrad 1950), pp. 57–75 (also discusses the recently discovered four inscriptions). Hüseyin Namık: *Eski türk yazıtları II* (Istanbul 1939), pp. 131–142 (only the first five inscriptions). Sir Gerard Clauson: *Turkish and Mongolian Studies* (London 1962), pp. 69, 256 (claims that the so-called *Khakasian Inscription* is an epitaph of the *Türgesh* offsprings who fled to the Altai after the fall of the Western Turkish empire).

of minor records discovered, which he divided into five groups, viz. (i) inscriptions found on the walls of the gorodishche of Mayak, (ii) inscriptions on the two flasks of Novochoerkask (one with 16 and another with 31 signs), (iii) the inscriptions of Khumara, (iv) the 40-sign inscription of the bullskull found in the Volga district, and (v) the inscriptions on the four sides of the wooden stick in the Talas-vale. We may also add the fragmentary inscriptions originating from Sharkel here.⁴ At the time being it is a mere hypothesis that all these runiform records represent one and the same runiform writing and are all in Khazarian. As is known, various other runiform writings were extant in East-Europe as well. The set of runiform writing from Nagyszentmiklós also belongs here; according to Németh it represents the writing of the Pechenegs — others attribute it to the Danubian Proto-Bulgarians. The advocates of this latter hypothesis, however, have never experimented with deciphering these inscriptions on the basis of the language of the Danubian Proto-Bulgarians. It is remarkable that the findings of Nagyszentmiklós — both the treasures and the inscriptions — had previously been considered to be of Avar origin, yet no efforts were made to justify the archeologists' view (e.g. that of Géza Nagy) on paleographical and linguistic grounds. It appears that the problem of their Avar contact needs to be taken into account again.

Interest in the Avar runiform is gaining more and more ground these days. We have for quite a while been paying attention to engravings reminiscent of runiform signs, emerging from Avar tombs. These inscriptions, however, only contain a few signs and do not lead to far-reaching conclusions.

Quite recently, in the summer of 1983, the archeologist Irén Juhász discovered a needlecase made of bone, in an Avar tomb in the vicinity of Szarvas. The approximately 60 signs found on it are silent as yet; nevertheless, they do constitute a convincing proof of the existence of some sort of a runiform with the Avars.⁵

⁴ A. M. Ščerbak: *Znaki na keramike i kirpichach iz Sarkela Beloj Vezi*. Moskva—Leningrad 1959. Idem. Les inscriptions sur les pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord et le problème de l'alphabet runique des Turcs occidentaux). In: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV [1962], pp. 282–290. M. A. Chabicev: *O drevnej tjurkskich runičeskich nadpisjach v alanskich katakombach*: Sov. Tjurk. 1972: 2, pp. 94–99. The runiform wooden stick found in the Talas-vale has signs in striking similarity to the runiform signs of Sharkel, which are of a Khazarian origin. The deciphering of all the four sides of this of the wooden stick inscription was attempted in Malov: *Pamjatniki* 1959, pp. 63–68. The interpretation of one side was proposed by Ščerbak (*AOH* XV, p. 290) and this occurs as line 3 in Malov. The two interpretations are very far from being identical.

⁵ I. Vásáry: *Runiform Signs on Objects of the Avar period (6th–8th CC A. D.)*. In: *AOH XXV* [1972], pp. 335–347. It is to be noted that the findings in Szarvas indicate a late Avar period: it is highly possible that this relic with its runiform inscription is not a document of the Avar people and language proper but rather originates from the Kutrigurs, perhaps Onogurs, living in the Avar empire and fighting with the Avars for ruling power. This means that the inscriptions of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure and the Avar runiform are of a common source. The perspicuous graphical identities are by no means accidental: the interpretation is to be awaited for yet, however.

Finally, the Hungarian or, more exactly, the Székely runiform belongs here as well. We must agree with Németh in that this writing was imported into Hungary from Khazaria or from its vicinity through the mediation of some subgroup of the Hungarian people. Further research is needed in order to decide if it has its origin in the Sharkel-type writing.⁶

3. The runiform of the Kiev letter organically fits into the runiform systems of the Western Turks, Khazars, Avars, and Danube—Turco-Bulgarians (Pechenegs?). At this point, however, there arises a significant question: how are we to explain the surprising fact that within the Khazar empire, along with the as yet undeciphered Khazarian runiform proper (cf. the minor inscriptions of Sharkel), a Western Turkish runiform could also remain in use? It is even more surprising that the first surviving relic of this recently discovered runiform of Western Turkish origin comes from the first half of the 10th century, shortly before the fall of the Khazar empire. There are various circumstances to be explained anyway.

The runiform word at the end of the Kiev letter is as follows:

→ ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ ꝛ

In Pritsak's interpretation, the script proceeds from right to left and, in contradiction to known Turkish (and Hungarian) runiform practice, indicates all vowels. Pritsak interprets the six symbols of the word as follows. The first letter is W^1 , with a prothetic not verifiable by other sources, and W^1 is the third letter as well. The fifth letter is W^2 , and the sixth is $M^{1,2}$ and, finally, the fourth symbol is R^1 . This is a possible though otherwise unknown variant of the well-known R^1 (Pritsak cites examples for other variants). The first sign requires a special explanation. Pritsak claims the prothetic is a variant of Semitic *he* and represents laryngeal *h*. In sum, Pritsak reads the Khazarian word as *hoqurüm*.

I will return to the question of the origin of the script below. As for the interpretation of the letters, I regard it as basically correct, but with two qualifying remarks, one concerning the initial *h*- and the other concerning *he* reading *ü*.

⁶ J. Németh, in *Acta Lingu.* XXI, p. 42: "The Hungarian script of Turkish origin itself must have originated somewhere in the Khazar empire or in the neighbourhood of it". The table in which Németh (loc. laud.) compares the symbols of Khazar script and the runiform wooden stick found in the Talas-vale is very instructive. It is to be regretted that the bare graphical similarity is isolated, given that we do not know the phonetic interpretation of neither of the groups of signs. For the table showing the identities between Hungarian runiform and runiform signs from Sharkel, see op. cit., p. 47.

In order to explain the initial *h* in the Khazarian *hogurüm*, Pritsak cites two examples (p. 12) as evidence that Khazarian had an initial laryngeal *h*. One of them is the name of one of the Khazar capitals, which, according to Islamic sources, was called *Hap-balīy*, and which Ibn Rusta calls *Out-balīy*. This latter can be interpreted as 'city of Charisma' in Turkish. Pritsak obtains the proposed readings and interpretation through a chain of hypotheses. The reading *Out-balīy* is already hypothesized, and it can hardly be authentic when compared with the generally used *ḡamlīy* or *ḡamlīj*. Pritsak claims that Khazarian **hap* 'charisma' is of Chinese origin: "**hap* (cf. Middle-Mongolian *hap* < *pap*) is a T'ang Chinese loan-word, *pap* [present-day *fa*], with the meaning 'charisma'". This hypothesis is not defensible. Chinese *pap* is valid for the period around 600 AD; in the T'ang-period (around 800 AD) the form of the word is *faw*; at the same time, originally Middle-Mongolian *h-* goes back *p-*. The meaning of the Chinese word is not 'charisma' but 'statutes, laws, regulations; a rule; legal standard; plan or method'. How and when could have a Middle-Mongolian word of Chinese origin (?) become part of the Khazarian vocabulary?

In order to justify Khazarian initial *h-*, Pritsak cites the old Hungarian loan-word *ökör* 'ox' from Turkish as his second piece of evidence (< **ökür*; Chuv. *vākār*, Common Turkic *öküz*; Middle Mongolian *hüker*). This has a *hukur* form in an 1326 Latin charter (in the place name *Hukurithou*). This word, however, was incorporated into Hungarian with an initial vowel and the initial *h-* in the charter is a late orthographical characteristic (the place name in question has been preserved in the form *Ökörítő* up until our day).⁷

⁷ Peter P. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*. In: *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, Vol. XXV/1, 1980, pp. 230–234. As is well-known, the reading *ḡamlīj* comes from de Goeje and is based on Ibn Hurdadbih; the version *ḡalmīḡ* has been popularized by Lewicki. Golden interprets it as *ḡutluy-Qutluy*, with reservations. From the reading *Hab balīy* by Ibn Rusta only *balīy* 'city' seems likely, even though in the graph [bly], the dots for *b* and *y* are absent. The first member of the name, [hb] was amended as *Han* by Golden, but without any attempt at interpretation. Otherwise Golden is also inclined to believe that Ibn Rusta preserved another name of the Khazar city. According to J. Németh (*A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása*, p. 208), the name of the city is *Itıl* or *Ḥanbalīy*, the latter with a questionmark, can also be interpreted as *Hamliy*. On the basis of [hxbī'] found in Ibn Rusta alongside with [hb xl'] (where *x* indicates a *b* etc. without a dot), I myself believe that the graph **Hab balīy* is but a damaged variant of *ḡamlīy*. — As for the *Hukur* reading of the Hungarian *diploma* from 1326, this data is a late one and stands in isolation with its initial *h*; earlier proper name occurrences (e.g. 1259: *Vkurd*) and common noun forms of the word (e.g. around 1395: *eker*, *oker*, *ekur*) contain an initial vowel; cf. Benkő et alii: *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* III, 1976, p. 23. In the paper where Pritsak found the Hungarian example (*Acta Lingu.* XI [1961], pp. 35–37), I mentioned another old Turkish loan-word contemporary with *ökör*; this is *ölyv* 'buzzard'. This also has a version with an initial *h* in a charter from 1357: *Huluespataka* (this same burn is named as *Wlwespothok* in 1269). The word also occurs with an initial vowel *uluuef* as known since 1055; cf. Benkő: op. cit., III, pp. 26–27. Presumably, Pritsak ignored this word because it can only be found in Mongolian (Lit. Mong. *eliye*, *eliḡe*, Middle Mong. *hele'e*), and Mongolian allows us to deduce the Old Chuv.

Here it ought to be briefly mentioned that according to their origin two different *h*- sounds must be taken into account in Altaic languages. One of them is characteristic of Mongolian—Manchu-Tongus languages: the initial *p*- in these languages is represented by *p*-, *f*-, *χ*-, *h*-, *θ*- in abundance. Words belonging here have only some loan-word equivalents in Turkish. At the same time, in some cases we know of words with initial *h*- in some Turkish languages: their number has been significantly increased by the *Khalaj*. Previously this initial *h*- has been considered as secondary. Such a hypothesis is not necessary: in any case, its first occurrence goes back to a considerably long time. Pelliot published almost 100 words with initial *h*- coming primarily from Chinese transcriptions, and, on the basis of overwhelming quantity of Middle-Mongolian material, the independently existing Turkish (*Khalaj*) initial *h*- was traced back to Turkish initial *p*- by Doerfer. There is an important difference between the two groups of data, however. In the case of Turkish initial *h*- no previous *p*- can ever be proved except for some loan-words. The most significant difference is, however, that examples of Middle-Mongolian initial *h*- are restricted to Mongolian—Manchu-Tongus languages; the examples of Turkish initial *h*- are only characteristic of Turkish, and their Mongolian—Manchu-Tongus equivalents are due to borrowings.⁸

The initial *h*- in Khazarian *hogurüm*, as postulated by Pritsak, is not impossible in principle; nevertheless, not only the examples cited in favour of it have no force of evidence, but it is also hardly justifiable on historical grounds. Khazarian — along with Bolgarian in Pritsak's view — belongs to Chuvash-type languages, and the postulation of an initial *h*- in those languages has no justification. Nevertheless, one might assume the prothesis of *v*- preceding a labial vowel; one, however, would expect *vaqurim*, instead of *voqurim*.

**iläy* as the source for the Hungarian word from before the 9th century. — It cannot be accidental that Pritsak fails to take notice of the *Khalaj* *hoqu*-, *hoqo*- 'lesen, singen' data (G. Doerfer—S. Tezcan: Wörterbuch des Chaldasch. Dialect von Xarrab l.c.n: BOH XXVI, Budapest 1980, p. 134.) Indeed, the phonetic characteristics of this archaic Common Turkish language have little to tell us about the rise of the phonetic relations in Chuvash-type languages like Khazarian.

⁸ Adherents of the Altaic linguistic affinity claim that the starting point in Turkish and Mongolian languages etc. could only have been an initial *p*-. According to Ramstedt (Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft I, pp. 39—40, 52—60) this initial disappeared from Turkish without any trace. On the other hand, Doerfer (*Khalaj Materials*. In: UAS, Vol. 115, Bloomington 1971, pp. 163—165) believes that Proto-Turkic **p*- has been retained in *Khalaj* in the form of *h*- until now. Doerfer rejects the Altaic linguistic affinity and thus, for him, Mongolian—Manchu-Tongus correspondences are a priori to be ignored or can only be considered as loans from Turkish. Chinese texts from the T'ang period contain Turkish words and names with an initial *γ*-, which is usually interpreted as *h*- in Turkish. Examples: *halp* 'vaillant, héros', *huluy* 'grand', *halan* 'bigarré, pie', *hirkin* 'un nom de charge', *huiyur* 'ouïgour'. A Tibetan text from the same period writes an unambiguous *h*: *ha-dag* 'foot', *ha-la* 'multicoloured', *hir-kin* 'title of charge'; see Ligeti: A propos du "Rapport sur les rois demeurants dans le Nord", in: Études tibétaines. Paris 1971, pp. 188—189. In the Mongolian(—Manchu-Tongus) independent Turkish material the projection of initial *h*- to an earlier, Proto-Turkic **p*- is a mere, unsupported hypothesis.

It is also conceivable that an orthographical, rather than phonetic explanation is to be sought for the prothesis. That is, it is possible that Khazarian orthography used this device for distinguishing *u* and *o*; but this hypothesis could only be verified on the basis of richer material than we have available now.

My second remark concerning Pritsak's reading *hoqurüm* concerns the letter *ü*. This reading is based on the identification of the Khazarian letter with *W*² of Orkhon. The identification is neither graphically nor phonetically beyond doubts. To postulate a palatal vowel (*ü*) in a suffix to a word with velar vowels is not possible for Khazarian, or in any other contemporary phase of Chuvash (Orkhon Turkic does not come into consideration). It is to be noted that the regular use of *W*² (= *ö*, *ü*) would be greatly complicated by this irregular application. It is well-known that Turkish runiform does not distinguish between palatal and velar *i* and uses the same "neutral" *i* for representing both. It is not impossible that Khazarian runiform, with its increased interest in orthographical exactness, introduced a new letter similar to *ö/ü*.

Having considered these graphical problems, the question inevitably arises: Are we faced with a slight modification of Orkhon runiform, as Pritsak assumes it, or do these six letters belong to Khazarian writing proper? I believe that the latter possibility cannot be a priori excluded. We do not have sufficient epigraphical material for establishing the solution yet.⁹

In any case, we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the phonetic interpretation proposed by Pritsak for this short runiform word.

4. The stem *oqu-* 'read' of the Khazarian verb *oqurim* is well-known from other Turkish languages. Its present-day interpretation is secondary, the original interpretation being 'to call aloud', then 'to summon', and finally, 'to read aloud'. The main Turkish equivalents of the Khazarian verb are as follows: Uig. *oqi-* 'lire, réciter, appeler' (Hamilton, *Le conte* 106), Uig. Ming

⁹ There is a single letter among the six that is fully identical to the proposed letter of the Orkhon runiform. This is the third letter, which also occurs as the second element of the first letter. According to Pritsak, the phonetic value of the third letter is *u*, and I would not doubt this. This sign frequently occurs in the East-European runiform material, among others, in the inscriptions of Nagyszentmiklós too, where Németh claims it has the value *a*. Relying on this identification Németh read *čab^an* and interpreted the identical words ZOAILAN and ZQAILAN of the Greek-lettered inscription as *čāban*, in order to maintain the proposed *a* value. The same runiform sign can be found in the epigraphic material of Sharkel, on the runiform wooden stick in the Talas-vale, on the Mayak inscriptions, on the Novoherkask flasks, and on the Khumara inscriptions. The question is: Is the identification by Németh correct? Is this runiform sign to be read as *o* (*u*), or as *a*, or perhaps still something else, in the above inscriptions? It is to be noted that Németh's "Pecheneg" alphabet lacks the sign for *o* and *ö*, whereas all the above inscriptions do have the "Pecheneg" *u* ~ *ü* sign — what is their phonetic value, however?

oqĩ- 'lire (à haute voix), réciter' (AOH XIX, 186); Käs̄y. *oqĩ-* 'rufen, lesen' (Brock., 128); QB *oqĩ-, oqu-* (Malov, Pamj. 404); Tefs. *oqĩ-* 'to shout, to call, to read' (Bor. 235); Kor. *oqi-* 'to read, recite: to call, pray; to tell, inform, reveal' (Eck. 201—202); Khor. *oqĩ-, o qu-* 'to read', *oqu-* 'to call' (Faz. II, 179, 180); Chag. *oqu-* 'lire, réciter' (PdC 69); Tkm. *oqĩ-* 'read' (AB 149); *oquvčĩ* 'learning', *oqĩjĩ* 'reading' (TRS 487); Az. *oxu-* 'to read; to sing; to learn' (ARS 159); Gag. *oku-* 'to read' (GRMS 349), Osm. *oku-* 'read, learn, study, sing, recite, say a prayer, invite, call, exercise, (sl.) curse' (Hony 273); Coman CC *oqu-* 'lesen' (Gr. 179); Kip. Al *oqĩ-* 'lesen' (Hou. 51); AH *oqĩ-* (Caf. 62); Tuh. *oqu-* (Ata. 221); Kar. T. *oxu-* 'lesen' (Kow. 239); Kar. L *uchu-* (Mard. 67); -Tat. *uku-* 'read, learn, teach' (TRS 587); Bashk. *uqĩ-* (BTS 537); Kzk. *oqĩ-* 'to read, to learn, study' (Shnit. 155); Khalaj *hoqu-, hogg-* 'lesen, singen' (Doer.-Tez. 134); Yellow Uig. *oxu-, oxo-, oxa-* 'lire, étudier' (Kak. 184).

From a semantic point of view we should note Mong. SH *ungšĩ-* 'rufen, nennen' (Haen. 164); LMong. *ungsi-* 'to read, recite' (Less. 877); Ord. *omšĩ-* 'réciter à haute voix, lire' (Most. 511).

In the Khazarian *oqurĩm* (*hoqurũm*) Pritsak claims that R^1W^2M is the suffix of 1st person singular definite past tense and corresponds to Common Turkic *-dum*. He explains the peculiar form of the Khazarian word with the help of Chuvash. In this language *d-*, the first phoneme of the suffix becomes *r-* when preceded by a vowel, e.g. Chuv. *vala-* 'to read' > *valarãm* 'I (have) read (it)'. Pritsak regards this phenomenon as self-evident, since Islamic authors mostly see the Bulgarian and the Khazarian languages as related; therefore it seems natural to him to find a Chuvash-like phenomenon in a Khazarian word.

5. I agree with Pritsak in his overall judgment of the problem. I believe, however, that it may be worth to pause and ask: Can this new Khazarian document add to our knowledge on old Chuvash loan-words of Hungarian? I believe it can.

First of all, it, no doubt, usefully increases the number of scattered relics of Chuvash type Khazarian. I will not list here the forms previously known.

It may be expedient, however, to say a word about a phonetic trait which is considered as one of the old Turkish elements of Hungarian, since the final touch of it is contained in this new relic.

Quite a short time ago it was established that *d* in old Turkish elements of Hungarian is realized postconsonantally in two ways.¹⁰ Firstly, it is retained unchanged after *n, l, r*, as in:

¹⁰ L. Ligeti: A propos des éléments "altaïques" de la langue hongroise. In: Acta Lingu. XI [1961], pp. 32—34.

kender 'hemp' ~ Com. Turk. *kendir*, Chuv. *kantiär*;

köldök 'navel' ~ Com. Turk. *kindik*, Chuv. *kěntěk* (the *-nd-* > *-ld-* development took place in Hungarian);

ildom(os) 'tactful, becoming, courteous' ~ Com. Turk. *ildam*, *yildam*, Chuv. *valtām*; Mong. *ıldam*;

erdem 'merit, worth' ~ Com. Turk. *erdām*, *ärdām* (but *edrām*).

In turn, in all other cases old Turkish loan-words follow the Chuvash neologism, which consists in the following: after vowels and consonants, with the exception of *n*, *l*, *r*, the dental plosive *d* became spirantized (*δ*), and this, through *-z-* or directly, developed into *r* in Chuvash. There are two words among the old Turkish elements of Hungarian which belong here:

búza 'wheat' < *buyδai*, perhaps *buyzai* ~ Com. Turk. *buydai*;

túzok 'bustard' < *toyδaq*, perhaps *toyzaq* ~ Com. Turk. *to daq*.

The regularity of the phenomenon was difficult to notice because *γ* was the only example known to us to condition spirantization, and a correct account became only possible after the establishing of the Turkish historical phonetic background.

The origins of this peculiar phonetic development go back to Old Turkish. The special role of *l*, *n*, *r* can already be recognized in the Orkhon inscriptions. The locative-ablative suffix is *-ta*, *-tü* after these three consonants, whereas after vowels and other consonants it is *-da*, *-dä*. Examples: *yer-tä* 'on soil', *yol-ta* 'on road', *bodun-ta* 'at people', *qayan-ta* 'from Khagan'; *äb-dä* 'in house', *tay-da* 'on hill', *yazı-da* 'on plain'.¹¹

Present-day Chuvash reflects this regularity in the following way: the suffix is realized as *-ta*, *-te* (more precisely, *-da*, *-de*) after *l*, *r*, *n*, and as *-ra*, *-re* after other consonants and vowels. Examples: *värman-ta* 'in the woods', *χēvel-te* 'in sun(shine)', *ser-te* 'on the ground'; *tu-ra* 'on the hill', *ut-ra* 'on horse' and *Atıl-ta* 'on the Volga', *kıl-te* 'at home', *šiv-ra* 'in water', *tinēs-re* 'on sea', *alak-ra* 'at the door', *külē-te* 'in the lake'.¹²

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the newly discovered Khazar relic which reflects Chuvash-type neologism. The definite past tense suffix of *oqu-rīm* (Pr. *hoqurüm*) 'I read it' the *r* is also traceable back to Orkhon Turkish. (For the sake of simplicity, we will only consider the 1st person singular form.)

This suffix is *-tīm*, *-tim*, (*-tum*, *-tüm*) after stems ending in *l*, *n*, *r*, whereas it is *-dim*, *-dım* (*-dum*, *-düm*) after others: *bul-tum* 'I found', *kälür-tüm* 'I had brought'; *sülä-dim* 'I led an army', *sanč-dım* 'I stabbed him with a lance', *buz-dum* 'I smashed', *udıma-dım* 'I did not sleep'.

¹¹ Talat Tekin: A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic, p. 133. A. v. Gabain: Alttürkische Grammatik, p. 88.

¹² J. R. Krueger: Chuvash Manual, p. 106.

Present-day Chuvash reflects the same regularity; as the 1st person singular definite past suffix Benzing mentions *-rum* after vowels and consonants, save for stems ending in *l, n, r*, in which case the form is *-tām*; concerning phonetic divergence he makes reference to the double form of the locative suffix. A similar discussion is found in Krueger. His examples are: *vula-rām* 'I read', *eşle-rēm* 'I worked', *şır-tām* 'I wrote', *kil-tēm* 'I came'. Krueger stresses the characteristics of the definite past and mentions the fact that Chuvash grammarians call it "categorical past". From the Chuvash grammar by Róna-Tas we have: *kal-rām* 'I said' (128), *ijt-rām* 'I asked' (129), *sana-rām* 'I noticed' (180), *muxta-rām* 'I praised' (180), *taşla-rām* 'I danced' (183), *savān-tām* 'I rejoiced' (180), *kilen-tēm* 'I delighted' (180), *şul-tām* 'I made hay', *kul-tām* 'I laughed' (183), *pul-tām* 'I was' (183).¹³

The above cited examples are sufficient to illustrate the spirantization of the Ancient Turkish voiced dental stop; the enumeration of further examples can be omitted. It may be noted, however, that this development took a considerable time. Its first occurrences can already be found in the so-called Bulgarian epitaphs, and even in some data of Danubian Proto-Bulgarian.¹⁴

6. There is another important issue to be discussed, i.e. the runiform authorization of the Kiev letter. Golb did already as much as discover the fact — all-important for the interpretation of the Khazarian word — that 'I read (it)' follows the Byzantine chancellery practice. Indeed, at the end of Byzantine Caesarean documents *Legi* 'I read (it)', *Legimus* 'We read (it)' can be found in a similar function.¹⁵

Dölger emphasizes that there is no significant difference between the use of the two Latin words. Nevertheless, from our point of view it is not insignificant that *Legimus* appears in relatively late documents, whereas ear-

¹³ Talat Tekin: op. cit., pp. 188–189. J. R. Krueger: op. cit., pp. 144–145. A. Tóna-Tas: Bevezetés a csuvas nyelv ismeretébe [Introduction] Budapest 1978.

¹⁴ O. Pritsak: Die bulgarische Fürstenliste, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 73, 87–88, and in: UAJb XXXI [1959], pp. 289–295.

¹⁵ F. Dölger—J. Karayannopulos: Byzantinische Urkundenlehre (Erster Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden. In: Byzantinischen Handbuch. München 1968). This work was referred to by Golb: op. cit., p. 15, in his note to the 30th line; at the same place he listed five documents at the end of which *Legimus* can be found. Pritsak (p. 42) also refers to the recognition word *ṣahh* from the practice of the Osman-Turkish chancellery (J. Matuz: Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Suleymans des Prächtigen. In: Freiburger Islamstudien, Band V. Wiesbaden 1974). The interpretation of the Osm. *ṣahh* of Arabic origin is as follows: 'the paraph or official mark written on a document when it has been examined, registered, acted upon, etc., also where an erasure is cancelled' (Redhouse: A Turkish and English Lexicon. Constantinople 1921, p. 1168). Cf. Ar. *ṣahh* 'être bon, en bon état; être correct, être authentique' (Biberstein Kazimirski I, p. 1310). Of the remarks etc. serving the proof of authenticity of Caesarean documents issued, I only mention the practice of the Mongolian period. See: F. W. Cleaves: A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. In: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vo. 14 [1951], pp. 493–526, plates I–II.

lier, taking copies into account, *Legi* is to be found. Dölger dates the appearance of the formula *Legimus* to 619—680 (op. cit., p. 34, note 8). Though this date can be doubted, the priority of *Legi* with respect to *Legimus* cannot. This would mean that the Khazarian *recognitio* must be significantly older than the Kiev letter. One can hardly be wrong in assuming that this authorization formula appears on other Hebrew language documents of the Khazars as well; it would be worth while to try to find it on further autographic letters. At the end of the Byzantine document in Greek a Latin *recognitio* is found. Could it be considered a mere coincidence that on the Hebrew letter of the Khazars, the functionally similar recognition is not worded in the language of the letter? Everything points to the existence of a Hebrew language chancellery with the Khazars; nevertheless, on the basis of the available information it seems hardly likely that a Khazarian language chancellery would ever have functioned alongside with, or prior to it.

The Byzantine Caesarean chancellery provides a remarkable parallelism also by the documents being paraphrased by the *Quaestor sacri palatii*, or the *κοινοτρωχ* (Dölger, op. cit., p. 57). The certifier of the Kiev letter could not have been a distinguished personality, a minor functionary of the Khazar state power at most.

In any case, the analogy with the practice of the Byzantine chancellery clearly indicates the authenticity of the Khazarian letter: the phonetic characteristic occurring in the Turkish word undoubtedly verifies its Khazarian origin. This is further supported by the Hebrew linguistic environment and a number of apparently Turkish proper names.

The runiform Khazarian word serves as a chronological clue as well. This governmental certificate could only have been placed on the letter while Kiev was in the hands of the Khazars. Pritsak claims this can be dated before 930. After this date neither Hebrew language or script, nor Khazarian certification could appear on an official passport. In case the name of Kiev (and its role as the source of the document) would be doubted the Khazarian word in itself places the date around 930. Similar conclusion can be deduced from the fact that old Turkish words like *büza*, *tüzok*, which reflect an earlier phase of Chuvash neologism, had been incorporated into Hungarian two, or even three, hundred years before this date.

O. Pritsak is an outstanding scholar of the history of the area of that time; his remarks concerning Kiev therefore deserve special attention. The city is the most Western stronghold of the Khazar empire. It grew into a city from a military camp for the garrison troops recruited from among the Onogurs (and perhaps, Kutrigurs) fleeing to the East after the fall of the Avar empire. The Khazars made *Küyüvā* of Khvarezm its commander; his name gave rise to the Slavic name of the city, which comes from the form *Qiyāβ*, reflecting "Hunno—Bolgarian-Turkic" phonetism.

The Kiev letter does not contain the name Khazar. The so-called Schechter-text discussed in the second part of the book does, however, in the form *QZR*, i.e. *qazar*. The newly found Khazarian letter inescapably recalls the old explanation based on the etymology of this name, which paralyzed research for decades. Following our distinguished scholar, Zoltán Gombocz, without reservation, researchers of Hungarian prehistory regarded Khazarian a pure Common Turkish language and thus automatically excluded it from among the possible sources for Chuvash-type old Turkish loan-words in Hungarian. Nevertheless, this etymology has the same value as if someone tried to make Chuvash one of the Common Turkish languages, on the basis of the *č*- and *-š* consonants in the ethnic name variant Chuvash [*čävaš*]. Those who were not blinded by Gombocz's etymology for the ethnic name *qazar* have always known that it has a variant *qasar* as well (in Chinese and Pahlevi script). The *qasar* form in the Terkh and Tes inscriptions that have become available recently¹⁶ does not therefore change the previous situation in any way: neither of the versions of the ethnic name provides a sufficient basis for deciding if Khazarian was a Common Turkish or a Chuvash-type language. In order to clarify this problem — which has been debated until now on weakening grounds — one will have to rely on radically different pieces of evidence.

¹⁶ M. Šinechüü: Tarjatyn Orchon bičgijn šine dursgal, in: *Studia Archeologica Instituti Historiae Academiae Scientiarum Reipublicae Populi Mongolici*, Tomus VI, Fasc. 1. Ulan-baatar 1975. S. G. Kljaštornyj: Terchinskaja nadpisj. In: *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1983: 3, pp. 83–95. Idem; The Terkhin Inscription. In: *AOH XXXVI* [1982], pp. 335–366. Talât Tekin: Kuzey Moğolistan'da yeni bir Uygur anıt: Taryat (Terchin) kitabesi, In: *Bellefen XLVI*, Sa. 184, 1982 (1983), pp. 795–838. M. Šinechüü: Orchon-Selengijn runi bičgijn šine dursgal. In: *Studia Archeologica*, Tomus VIII, Fasc. 1. Ulan-baatar 1980.

ON QUESTIONABLE COMPLEMENTIZERS*

By

FARRELL ACKERMAN

“...the squirming facts exceed the
squamous mind,
If one may say so.”

The Connoisseur of Chaos
Wallace Stevens

Some wine company in California spearheads its advertising campaign with the following slogan: “Because the wine remembers.” The message is simple: every false step in the winemaking process is detectable in the final wine. Bad barrels, bad wine — and so on. This charming instance of a causal chain has an analogue, occasionally, in linguistic model-making. In general, there are arguments (and, consequently, formalisms) based on palatable assumptions: let’s say assumptions in conformity with empirical evidence. And, there are arguments (and, consequently, formalisms) based on suspicious assumptions: let’s say assumptions disconfirmable with respect to empirical evidence. Since the force of arguments should be consequent on the credibility of the assumptions that underlie them (well, it would be nice anyway!) it is always good to be on the watch for the bad bases of “good” and fetching arguments. To some people bad wines taste good. To others, however, its badness is plain. For some languages certain arguments (and their theoretical expressions) seem to work. For others, however, — well, let’s see.

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To Jan Masters, my wife, thanks for your help on this one and I apologize in advance for the next.

Introduction

In 1970 C. L. Baker and J. Bresnan proposed separate treatments for the phenomenon of question formation (*q*-formation) within the generative framework.¹ Baker's proposal of a Q Substitution Universal was re-formulated by Bresnan as the COMP Substitution Universal. This reformulation helped establish COMP as a signal structural position within subsequent generative analyses.² In the present paper I hope to show that these purportedly structural principles of Universal Grammar are chimerical. Or, if such a strong demonstration is not so compelling, I hope to, at least, demonstrate that data from Hungarian as well as data from Slavic (Wachowicz 1974, 1907; Toman 1981), Duala (Epée 1976), Finnish (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979, Karttunen and Peters 1980) and Romanian (Anna Frankel personal communication), are problematic for these proposals. After casting suspicion on the soundness of prevailing assumptions about *q*-formation and the role of COMP in this phenomenon I will propose an alternative treatment for Hungarian. Whether or not such an alternative treatment can be profitably extended to a language like English will be a point of limited speculation.

Readers familiar with these issues will notice that much of the present paper can be considered an elaboration of the conclusions found in Wachowicz 1978:

"The Q-morpheme hypothesis cannot be maintained. The syntactic facts which lead to its postulation turn out not to be universals. Thus there is no syntactic motivation for the Q-morpheme hypothesis . . . As Langacker puts it: there is something inherently suspicious about the postulation of underlying segments with no clear semantic value and no obvious surface expression."

Wachowicz is specifically addressing Baker's proposal here but, as we will see, a similar complaint can be directed at Bresnan's proposal. In addition, it should become clear as this paper progresses that Langacker's doubts are

¹ Throughout this article I will focus solely on question constructions though one of the alleged advantages of, at least, Bresnan's proposal was its ability to show the relation between question constructions and relative clauses. This relation was noted by Baker but more clearly articulated by Bresnan. I have ignored this phenomenon since even a sketchy account of only Q-constructions seems such an enormous undertaking.

² The theses of WH as a COMP and some form of Substitution i.e. some way of stating the presumed complementarity between *that for . . . to* and *yes/no* question particle as well as the complementarity between *yes/no* particle and constituent question elements, are well attested in recent generative formulations. For instance in Chomsky 1982 we find the following formulation for COMP;

$$\text{COMP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\pm \text{WH}] \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\}$$

where; — WH = *that*, + WH = *yes/no* particle (realized as *whether* in English indirect question constructions).

In other words, the hypotheses of Baker and Bresnan have, in some sense, become fixtures of generative formalism and inasmuch as they are questionable formal assumptions based on them would seem to be, likewise, questionable.

somewhat facile and that, in fact, some relation between semantic values and surface syntactic expressions was, indeed, hinted at in these early hypotheses. In other words, the obvious inadequacy of these hypotheses, remarked on by Langacker (at least, according to Wachowicz!) intimates an early and interesting confusion between semantics and syntax (cf. below especially section 4).

Wachowicz 1974 cites sentences from Polish which, purportedly, contravene Baker's proposal:

- (1) *Gdzie co Monika kupiła?*
 where what Monica bought
 'What did Monica buy where?'

Such data suggest that Polish has multiple *wh*-movement (alternatively, more than one constituent question element e. g. *qw*, moves to clause initial position) despite the fact that Baker's proposal posits the existence of a single clause initial structural position which can accommodate the movement of only a single constituent. Bresnan's proposal is similarly constrained. So, if for the usually assumed structures:

Table 1

[S [Q] [... <i>wh</i> ...]]	Baker
[\bar{S}] [COMP] [S [... <i>wh</i> ...]]	Bresnan

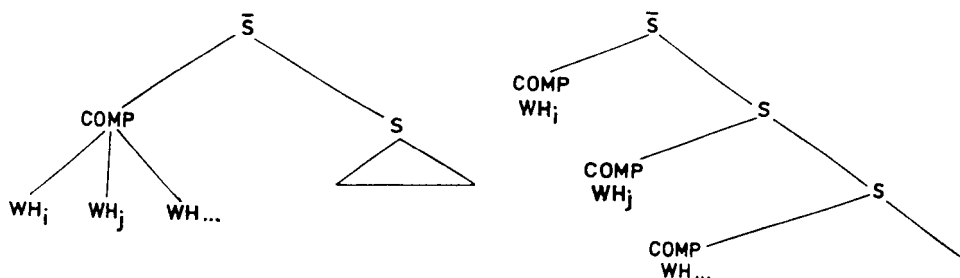
any single movement of some constituent *qw* exhaustively fills Q (Baker) or COMP (Bresnan) then how can one explain the "pile up" of clause initial *qw*'s in Polish? Obviously, there would be no problem if Polish declarative sequences were identical to question sequences: if, for instance, all arguments in declarative orders regularly preceded the predicate. However, the sequence of constituents in (1) does differ in a predictable way from the usual order of constituents in Polish declarative structures. Specifically, Polish is, ordinarily, interpreted as an SVO language. Therefore, on the assumption that base rules generate something that approximates an SVO string, some movement is implicated in accounting for ORDERS of CONSTITUENTS which deviate from this base: in this instance, movement must account for the placement of *qw*'s in preverbal position. Naturally, if it can be shown that each *qw* represents a separate constituent repeated application of some *wh*-movement rule (the rule that moves *qw*) is needed and might entail a problem for the thesis of single *wh*-movement per clause.³

³ I hedge here because, as will be seen more clearly later on, someone might suggest that *wh*-movement actually only does apply once as predicted. All other instances of moved *qw*, presumably, attributable to some other movement rule. The fact that both rules handle *qw* elements is fortuitous there being no necessary motivation for assuming

Toman 1981 recognizes the potential problems raised by the Polish data. He re-addresses the issue of Q-formation within generative theory and utilizes additional data from the related language Czech.

Perhaps, the Polish and Czech data directly undermine the tenability of the Substitution Universal hypotheses. Perhaps, they simply entail revisions of some sort: either, 1. COMPs can be multiply filled, or 2. a hypothesis concerning the possibility of multiple adjacent COMP nodes can be justified.⁴ The resultant structures would be:

Table 2



Additionally, there is the more radical thesis that Polish does not possess a COMP node at all:⁵ that, somehow, Polish Q-formation is structurally incomparable to Q-formation in other languages where the postulation of COMP's important role in Q-formation remains unquestioned.

that Q-formation constitutes a unitary phenomenon. In fact, there are some who might argue that if the assumption of two sorts of rules (granted two instances of the general rule MOVE α) facilitates the formal treatment of this problem in a manner that conforms to the treatment of other phenomena i.e. it keeps the theory essentially in tact, then questions concerning the possible coherence of Q-formation as a unitary phenomenon are metaphysical claptrap.

⁴These alternative hypotheses are formulated with respect to WH as a COMP. As will be seen presently, this is the treatment suggested by Bresnan and accepted, in one form or another, to this day. On the other hand, Baker's proposal has mostly historical value, if any value at all, with respect to the problems faced by Toman. He can, therefore, ignore Baker's proposal with impunity although it could be added that a revision of Baker's thesis, too, might allow for multiple filling of his Q node. In any case, the actual proposals of Baker and Bresnan will be elaborated on in section 1 and then the reader will see their similarities and differences and judge for himself their relation to present theoretical stands.

⁵This thesis strikes me as somewhat drastic given arguments presented in the present paper cf. especially section 3. Briefly, there is a sense in which WH and qw's are honorary members of the COMP class: COMP existed prior to the arguments designed to demonstrate that WH was a COMP. If WH misbehaves then it seems more reasonable, if more conservative, to question whether it should really be considered as a COMP. This, instead of assuming that the behavior of an "honorary" member warrants closing down the club —, to put it prosaically. The odd thing is that this apparently more conservative approach is actually more radical in some sense. Specifically, Toman's proposal leaves the status of WH as a COMP unquestioned while the latter approach questions this fundament of generative grammar. Greater radicalism, of course, is not in itself compelling motivation for much. Therefore, I hope that the specific arguments given below for a notion of Q-formation suggest the necessity for such radicalism.

Toman entertains each of these possibilities in turn and expands on their consequences. He concludes with tentative support for the proposal that "COMPs can proliferate arbitrarily" cf. the righthand option in Table 2. One of the cited advantages of this proposal is that:

"it satisfies the COMP Substitution Universal in that it does not require multiple COMP filling." (Toman 301).

Whatever the final merits or demerits of this proposal its presumed advantage demonstrates the desirability of maintaining the Substitution Principle as a principle of Universal Grammar. One might object to this vaunted advantage in the following manner: The thesis of Substitution as a part of Universal Grammar should be an empirically verifiable hypothesis. It is defeatingly aprioristic to simply assume its validity and, consequently, interpret all possible (and possibly instructive!) counter-examples as odd expressions of q-formation which, somehow, still conform to the thesis. In fact, this sort of analytic strategy has, at least, two unpleasant consequences: 1) it entails proposals with uncertain formal consequences, 2) it becomes increasingly less subject to empirical verification. With respect to consequence 1) it should be remarked that "proposals with uncertain formal consequences" are, naturally, not in themselves bad. On the other hand, if one is willing to propose novel structures why constrain such conjectures to conform to the requirements of a possibly questionable principle. This seems a particularly strange strategy if it results in consequence 2). In particular, if the Substitution Principle is accepted and if all relevant structures are analyzed as necessarily preserving it then it becomes unclear what could ever count as counter-evidence against the supposition of Substitution. The significance of an empirical connection to theoretical conjectures is explicitly acknowledged in Toman's introductory remarks:

"Since much of the theory of Generative Grammar relies on this assumption (of single wh-movement per clause FA) Wachowicz's findings are of extraordinary interest." (Toman 293).

Data from Polish, then, as well as possibly counter-exemplary data from elsewhere are of "extraordinary interest" because the assumptions they call into question underlie much of the present form of Generative Theory: our original causal chain!

In the remainder of this paper I will, primarily, present data from Hungarian which in some ways resembles data from Slavic. Unfortunately, Hungarian is geographically proximate to the Slavic languages and therefore structural contamination (or more neutrally, influence) is not preposterous. Fortunately, however, Hungarian is genetically unrelated to Slavic so, maybe, we will be dealing here with independently motivated similarities supported by

the accidental proximity of these languages. In any case, the data from Hungarian is not identical to the data from Slavic: if this were so then a simple replacement of Hungarian for e.g. Polish lexical items might be sufficient to make my point. Moreover, my point would be the same point made by Wachowicz and Toman, to wit, multiple qw constructions represent a problem. However, it is my contention that data from Hungarian pose both the familiar problem i.e. how can so many qw's appear clause-initially if there is only room for one?, as well as a different sort of problem concerning Bresnan's distributional arguments for assuming that WH is a COMP.

This article is organized in the following way: section 1. a restatement of those positions and manouvres found in Baker 1970 and Bresnan 1970 which will be criterial for subsequent discussion, section 2. a discussion of whether Hungarian qualifies for consideration with respect to Baker's and Bresnan's proposals, section 3. WH as a COMP, 4. an informal treatment of Q-formation: comments on the relation between Semantic Structure and Syntactic Structure and a re-appraisal of the basic syntactic structure Topic Focus Verb X^{n+} posited for Hungarian Kiss 1981, 5. Conclusions.

1. A faithful recapitulation of Baker's original proposal (1970) demands a bit of backgrounding. In particular, two universals found in Greenberg (1963) serve as a springboard for Baker's speculations:

Universal 9: "With well more than chance frequency when question particles or affixes are specified in position by reference to the sentence as a whole, if initial, such elements are found in prepositional languages, if final, in postpositional." (Greenberg 64, emphasis mine FA).

Universal 12: "If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences: it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions, if it has dominant SOV order there is never such an invariant rule." (Greenberg 65).

In other words, Universal 9 deals with the location of so-called question particles (referred to as yes/no particles or y/n in the present paper⁶) while Universal 12 concerns the placement of constituent question elements, qw's.⁷ Together, the universals cover the phenomena of q-formation.

⁶ Those who know Hungarian, as well as those who know Romanian, know that the particles *vajon* (Hungarian) and *oare* (Romanian) can co-occur with the formal markers of both YES/NO and QW questions. Elements like *vajon* and *oare* appear to be question elements in a fairly broad sense. Put somewhat loosely, they indicate the presence of a question without further specifying its nature with respect to whether it is YES/NO or QW. cf. footnote 7 for significance of lower and upper case designations of question phenomena.

⁷ Throughout this paper I will make systematic use of a distinction between lower and upper case designations for question phenomena. Upper case letters will refer to the semantics of the terms involved. Thus, YES/NO and QW refers to the semantic interpretation of these question elements. Lower case letters will refer, in contrast, to the syntactic expressions of question elements. Thus, yes/no and qw will refer to the syntactic expression of those semantic distinctions designated by YES/NO and QW.

Greenberg's use of the terms "pre/post positional languages" is his way of generalizing over those languages which are neither, strictly, VSO or SOV e. g. SVO languages. Such "mixed" languages, however, evidence one property which reliably co-varies with one or the other main type, namely, the presence of either pre- or post-positions. Given that VSO languages are, characteristically, pre-positional and SOV languages post-positional, Baker interprets Greenberg's correlations in the following way:

"First, all of the VSO languages studied in Greenberg's survey had an initial yes-no particle, and likewise all of these languages placed question words in sentence-initial position. On the other hand, those SOV languages which had particles positioned with reference to the sentence as a whole put them at the end of the sentence. Correspondingly, none of the SOV languages studied regularly moved other question words to sentence-initial position.⁸ Although the data for SOV languages (pre- or post-positional languages FA) are more difficult to interpret, it appears that no language in the sample simultaneously marked its yes-no questions with a sentence-final particle and moved other question words to sentence-initial position." (Bakes 207).

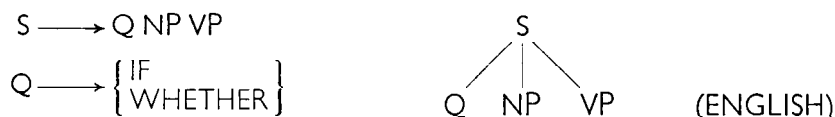
Baker's observation crystallizes the distribution of q-elements skulkingly present in Greenberg's universals. However, beyond this, Baker attempts something more: to explain these engaging patterns as following from certain assumptions about the universal form of syntactic structures.

On Baker's account, direct and indirect question forms share a sufficient number of syntactic properties to suggest that they may, additionally, share similar syntactic structure. So, for both;

- (2) (a) Did Sarah train the parrot? = direct
 (b) Joe asked whether Sarah trained the parrot. = indirect

Baker posits a clause-initial Q slot in syntactic structure. Schematically, this amounts to the following: claim about tree diagrams and rewrite rules:

Table 3



Baker is proposing, in his words, "a substantive universal". Naturally, the actual lexical realization of Q will differ depending on the language. For instance, in English, Q is lexically realized as either *if* or *whether*. The presumed cross-linguistic invariant in q-formation, to repeat, concerns an assumption

⁸ This sentence betrays a possible misreading of Greenberg's conclusions cf. Universal 12. cited above.

about restrictions on permissible syntactic structures in Universal Grammar: Some languages, like English have a Q-slot in syntactic structure.

The postulation of a clause-initial structural position Q is supported, in Baker's view by its favorable interaction with two attendant hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: "only languages which position their particles for *yes/no* questions in clause initial position permit movement rules for questioned constituents" (i.e. *qw*'s FA) Baker.

Hypothesis 2: since there is only a single slot per clause i.e. Q, which can accommodate the movement of *qw*'s (or, alternatively, *wh*-movement) there can only be a single movement of some *qw* into such a slot. A corollary of this is that if, for instance, Q is lexically realized then there can be no movement of *qw* since e.g. *whether*, would now exhaustively occupy Q. In other words, this hypothesis implicates complementarity between *yes/no* and *qw* in clause-initial position and moreover explains such complementarity as a consequence of assuming the presence of a Q slot exhaustively filled by a single constituent.

In summary, Baker's proposal is an ensemble consisting of one assumption about syntactic structure and two hypotheses constraining and explaining the sorts of question forms permitted by such structure. Inasmuch as Hypotheses 1 and 2 give credence to the postulation of Q it seems worthwhile to investigate whether they do, in fact, predict all actually occurrent distributions of *q*-elements. This is, naturally, an empirical question. Several possible sources of empirical disconfirmation would be:

- a) a language does not have clause-initial *y/n* and does have *qw* movement (*wh*-movement): either single movement, or worse, multiple movement.
- b) a language has clause-initial *y/n* and multiple *qw* movement
- c) a language has clause-initial *y/n* and the lexical realization of *y/n* co-occurs clause-initially with either one or many moved *qw*'s.

In sections 2, 3 and 4 I will chiefly address b) and c) and will make several oblique remarks about a).

Bresnan 1970 accepts Baker's postulation of some clause-initial structural position with a possible lexical realization of *whether*.⁹ She, however, contests the presumed site for such lexical realization. Specifically, she doubts the soundness of postulating a separate Q node. The motivation for her doubt is reasonable: if it can be demonstrated that *Wh*-feature (loosely, her analogue of Baker's *y/n*) is assimilable into an incontrovertibly necessary structural position then any argument for augmenting the universal inventory of categorial nodes i.e. by the addition, here, of Q, is, consequently, weakened. For Bresnan, the COMP node proves to be such structural position:

⁹ She rejects, on distributional grounds, the additional possibility that *if* can also be lexically realized here.

"I distinguish the interrogative WH (y/n FA) from a feature + wh which is associated with lexical items or pro-forms (yielding the interrogative pronouns *who, why, how* etc.) and whose distribution is a function of the WH complementizer. Because the Q-formation transformation inserts items 'into' the WH complementizer it happens that WH unlike *for* and *that* (original members of COMP, FA) is seldom 'observable' ". (Bresnan 310)

Bresnan subsumes WH into the class of COMPs on, essentially, distributional grounds. Two sorts of distributional arguments will be examined in section 3:

Argument 1: "Just as recognized complementizers *that* and *for* are mutually exclusive so, *that, for* and WH are all mutually exclusive . . . e.g. **I know t h a t w h e t h e r h e c a m e*" (Bresnan 311)

Argument 2: "In highest or non-embedded sentences, both WH and *that* are obligatorily deleted . . . e.g. **That John is here, *Whether John is here.*" (Bresnan 313)

The chief difference, then, (or, perhaps, the chief difference relevant to my purposes) between Baker's and Bresnan's proposals concerns the structural locus of q-elements: on Baker's account this position is a separate Q node while on Bresnan's account the independently motivated COMP node is a more convincing site. Primarily, the COMP position is more convincing because of the distributional similarities between *for, that* and WH cited by Bresnan. The proffered distributions are based, unblushingly, on English. The presumed consequences, however, constitute the source for formulating a syntactic universal, the so-called WH Substitution Principle. Whether Bresnan's distributional arguments are, finally, compelling and are, consequently, more palatable than Baker's surmises, is, it would seem, an empirical question. In other words, do her observations on the distribution of COMPs and WH accurately describe the situation in a wide enough variety of languages to merit their serving as the model for a syntactic universal?

By now the reader has, surely, noted a sort of asymmetry in the vulnerability of the positions taken by Baker and Bresnan. Baker's proposal rests, in some sense, on the credibility of Hypotheses 1 and 2. Bresnan, for her part, accepts these Hypotheses: she simply disputes the structural location where they obtain. A consequence of these concordant positions is that whenever Hypotheses 1 and 2 seem shaky the proposals of both linguists suffer similarly. On the other hand, Bresnan's arguments for WH as a COMP are independent of Hypotheses 1 and 2.¹⁰ In fact, we have already seen that the postulation of a Q mode is adequate with respect to these Hypotheses. Bresnan's arguments for WH as a COMP can, in principle, be found wanting without affecting the credibility of Hypotheses 1 and 2. The alleged asymmetry, then, consists in the fact that there are two possible sources of empirical disconfir-

¹⁰ It should be said, though, that the position of WH as a COMP interacts in a desirable way with these two Hypotheses.

mation for the two theoretical stances under consideration. One source concerns the accuracy of Hypotheses 1 and 2: this source affects Baker's proposal and that part of Bresnan's consequent on it. The other source concerns the tenability of Bresnan's distributional arguments for the inclusion of WH into the COMP category: this source only affects Bresnan's arguments about WH as a COMP and, presumably, subsequent formulations based on it.

I should mention, at this juncture, that I am sympathetic to the observations of Koster (1978) and others regarding the value and role of empirical researches for generative and scientific theories in general. To wit, a lone datum from a single source i.e. a representative example from one language, should not count as proof against some significant position within a theory: let alone, count as proof against the theory as a whole. On the other hand, however, as dissenting examples from various sources proliferate and as proposed treatments begin losing the generality of the original treatment, I believe it is time to pause and review the situation afresh. In particular, it would seem time to wonder whether the apparent failure of the original proposal results from some deficiency which attention to the alleged counter-examples or difficult cases would help make clear. Additionally, it is possible that such a re-appraisal would result, this time, in a hypothesis showing greater correspondence with observed phenomena and exhibiting pleasing theoretical generality.

Since there is always the possibility that some, supposedly, significant data are, in a deeper sense, irrelevant to the interpretations at hand, the next section is devoted to demonstrating that data from Hungarian qualifies for serious consideration as counter-exemplary to the claims of Baker and Bresnan.

2. It has generally been accepted that data from Slavic are germane in generative discussions concerning the proper universal formulation of q-formation. However, given the Russian and Serbo-Croatian sentences below, it is clear that Slavic conforms more to the spirit than the letter of Baker's Hypotheses 1 and 2:

(3) (a) Свободно ли это место?

Free y/n this place
'Is this place free?'

(b) Я спросил у девушки свободно ли это место.

I asked at girl free y/n this place
'I asked the girl whether this place was free.'

(Russian)

(4) (a) Da li je ovo mesto slobodno?

y/n is that place free
'Is that place free?'

- (b) Zapitao sam devojku da *li* je ovo mesto slobodno
 asked-msc I girl y/n is that table free?
 'I asked the girl whether that table was free.'¹¹ (Serbo-Croatian)

In these two languages y/n particle is positioned immediately after the first constituent in the clause: these particles are only in a restricted sense clause-initial. They are not clause initial in the sense of analogous elements in either English or Duala (a Bantu language):

- (5) (a) *Nga* nin ndut- am e mende bo?
 y/n this sorrow-my it will end
 'Will this sorrow of mine ever end?'
 (b) Langwea mba *nga* o tondi makube.
 tell me whether you like bananas
 'Tell me *whether* you like bananas?' (Duala) (Epée 1976)

English indirect questions and Duala questions of both types satisfy a literal interpretation of Hypothesis 1. Both languages also move qw's to clause-initial position. Russian and Serbo-Croatian, in contrast, position their y/n's near the beginning of a clause. Additionally, both have been argued to possess rules moving qw's to the beginning of clauses i.e. wh-movement rules.¹² In fact, these languages have received considerable attention precisely because they seem to move so many qw's to clause-initial position.

¹¹ Actually the situation in Serbo-Croatian can be identical to the situation in Russian whereby the y/n particle immediately follows the predicate:

Imaju *li* jastuk or da *li* imaju jastuk?
 have y/n pillow y/n have pillow
 'Do you have a pillow?'

My motivation for citing the variant with initial *da* is the following: either this *da* is the same one that appears as the SC equivalent of the subordinating complementizer *that* or it is homophonous with it:

Mislili smo *da* znamo jezik vrlo dobro.
 thought we that know language very well
 'We thought that we knew the language pretty well.'

If we are dealing with the "same" element and not homophones then, contra Bresnan, we may be witnessing both the appearance of COMP in matrix clauses and the co-occurrence of WH with it there. In other words, perhaps, COMP and WH are not one and the same. I should add that even if *da* does not deserve this interpretation the assumption of WH feature as COMP in Russian and Serbo-Croatian does not follow, unproblematically, from the distributional arguments adduced by Bresnan to support such a hypothesis. cf. section 3.

¹² The reader has probably noticed, and possibly with some annoyance, that I, indiscriminately, refer to wh-movement or qw-movement when talking about the same phenomenon. I have simply concocted the term qw-movement so that readers can link this rule mnemonically to my use of the terms qw. I employ this term instead of, for instance, Move α , in order to avoid explaining confounding problems in a forum where such explanations are not, strictly, necessary.

If Slavic (as represented here by Russian and Serbo-Croatian) is assumed not to possess clause-initial y/n i.e. as not conforming to the structural stipulation of Hypothesis 1, then it should not show qw movement i.e. Hypothesis 2. However, it is clear that Slavic declarative orders differ from interrogative orders with respect to clause-initial positioning of qw's in the latter: arguments with identical grammatical roles appear before i.e. question constituents, or after i. e. "regular" nominals, the predicate depending on the interrogative or declarative nature of the clause.

The Slavic data is perennially intriguing because linguists have assumed we are dealing with clause-initial y/n: the multiple movement of qw's counts as problematic for Hypothesis 2. Clause-initial position, on such an account, generously includes clitics like *au* as well as indisputably initial elements like English *whether*.

Given a generous interpretation of Hypothesis 1 Hungarian would not seem to present any especially odd problems. In fact, whatever observations or treatments of q-formation seem applicable in Slavic seem similarly useful in Hungarian.

- (6) (a) Tud-e uralkodni magán, ha valaki nem ért egyet az érvelésével?
 able y/n control yourself if someone not agree the reasoning
 'Are you able to control yourself if someone doesn't agree with your reasoning?'
- (b) A pszichiáter meg- kérdezte¹³, (hogy) tud-e uralkodni magán, ha
 the psychiatrist pfx- asked COMP able y/n control self if
 valaki nem ért egyet az érvelésével.
 someone not agrees the reasoning
 'The psychiatrist asked whether you are able to control yourself if
 someone does not agree with your reasoning.'
- (a) a paraszt megverte a tehenet
 the peasant-nom pfx-beat the cow-Acc
 the peasant beat the cow
- (b) ki mit vert meg
 who-nom what-acc beat pfx
 who beat what?

¹³ In matrix clauses Y/N questions are also able to be formed without employing the particle *-e*: in fact, this may even be the more common strategy. The important thing here is that a fully grammatical option involving *-e* is possible. In subordinate clauses *-e*, however, is obligatory.

¹⁴ I am consciously avoiding attributing aspectual function to the prefix *meg*. Throughout, I will refer to it simply as "pfx" or "prefix". For a more thoroughgoing investigation of *meg* cf. Ackerman, Grammatical Figures: the absolutive relation in Hungarian (forthcoming).

If all the requisite replacements are made, Hungarian, apparently, behaves like the Slavic languages.¹⁵ In particular, sentences (6a) and (b) illustrate that Hungarian has a clause-initial (as generously understood!) clitic *y/n* particle while the sentences in (7) show that declarative order (7a) differs from interrogative orders (7b) with respect to the location of grammatically identical elements.¹⁶ Hungarian is, consequently, another a language with clause-initial *y/n* i.e. it conforms to Hypothesis 1, which countenances multiple movement of *qw*'s i.e. it violates Hypothesis 2.

Sentences (6a) and (b) are, however, somewhat misleading. The distributions of *y/n* particles in e.g. Russian and Hungarian are not as similar as they seem:

"The Hungarian equivalent of the [Russian FA] particle *nu*, that is *-e*, is, according to the norms of the literary language, only able to be joined to the predicate. Russian *nu*, on the other hand, is able to stand next to any element in the sentence . . . this combination (of some element plus *nu*, FA) ordinarily stands at the beginning of the sentence." (Bolla K. et. al. 480) [translation mine FA]

The Hungarian *y/n* particle *-e*, does not obligatorily appear in, so-called, clause-initial position. Rather, it attaches to the predicate and appears wherever the predicate appears: the predicate does not obligatorily appear in clause-initial position. Now Hungarian looks different from Slavic: we seem to have a language without clause-initial *y/n* which evidences multiple movement of *qw*'s.¹⁷ This looks, curiously, like the situation in SOV languages where there is typically a clause-final *y/n* particle and no movement of *qw*'s to clause-initial position. In particular, is there a way of interpreting Hungarian *y/n* as, ideally or underlyingly, appearing in clause-final position? If there is, one might claim that Hungarian *qw*'s were never moved. First of all, they can't have been according to Hypotheses 1 and 2: Hungarian has no clause-initial *y/n*. Secondly, clause-initial *qw*'s might simply be the consequence of underlying SOV order: these *qw*'s were, in some sense, always pre-verbal. This proposal has historical, as well as typological merits. With respect to history there seems to be some evidence that, at one time, *y/n* had a fixed position:

¹⁵ The reader is probably wondering why such a spare literal translation turns into such a lush English rendering. The reason is that all the relevantly rich morphemes were in the Hungarian version too; I have, expediently, streamlined the word by word translation. This saves me the trouble of explaining or alluding to a lot of morphology and, unfortunately, deprives the reader of a glimpse into the wonders of Hungarian.

¹⁶ I am, obviously, referring to grammatical roles such as subject, object, indirect object etc, however these may be finally interpreted within any given theory.

¹⁷ I am assuming here that it is a good impulse to resist the temptation to assert an idealized position, namely clause-initial, for Hungarian *y/n*. This would, naturally, make Hungarian, once again, similar to Slavic; we would be dealing with clause-initial *y/n* and multiple movement of *qw*'s. As will be seen below, a clause-initial idealization is simply an analytical convenience; a more motivated idealization, both historically and typologically, would place *y/n* in clause-final position but this is, in some sense, theoretically unsatisfying.

"In these examples [cited from the Viennese and Munich codices, FA] we see that the question word [-e FA] occupies *s e n t e n c e f i n a l* position although in our contemporary language it is a general custom that the -e particle attaches to the verb regardless of whether the stress is on the verb or on some other sentential element." (Simonyi 187) [translation and emphasis mine FA]

According to Simonyi, then, the typical position for y/n, historically, was clause-final. Support for a clause-final idealization of y/n also comes from the synchronic typological state of Hungarian: the language displays numerous telltale properties of SOV language e.g. postpositions, left-branching constructions etc. In fact, Ultan in his crosslinguistic study of q-formation considers Hungarian to be an SOV language.¹⁸

In summary, both with respect to historical speculation and typological characterology¹⁹ a clause-final idealization seems defensible. Moreover, such an assumption has the desirable affect of excluding Hungarian from the corpus of counter-exemplary languages. The phenomena found in Slavic and Hungarian would be only fortuitously similar: Slavic, with an SVO base, would have both clause-initial y/n and problematic multiple qw movement while Hungarian, with an SOV base, would have neither clause-initial y/n nor problematic multiple qw movement.²⁰

Despite its evident appeal, however, a clause-final idealization is untenable: while explaining Hungarian's "peculiar" q-formation phenomena it seriously complicates the adequate description and explanation of synchronic declarative strings, i.e. the characteristic SVO declarative order of this language.²¹ In particular, such an idealization is at variance with a recent hypothesis suggesting that Hungarian is a non-configurational language with a base order of TOPIC FOCUS VERB X^{n+} :

¹⁸ It is not inappropriate to cite Ultan's observations concerning the distribution of y/n here;

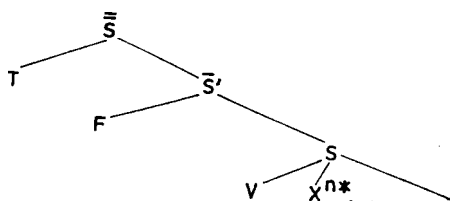
"As Greenberg (Greenberg) has already stated there is a direct relation between the position of the QP [y/n FA] occupies in the clause and the basic order type of the language. When QP is clause-initial (or enclitic to the initial constituent) the verb almost always preceded the object in a normal declarative statement. When the QP is final the verb may precede or follow the object — *f i n a l Q P t e n d s t o b e m u c h m o r e c o m m o n i n p o s t p o s i t i o n a l l a n g u a g e s* (of 36 such languages QPs are sentence-final in 61.1%, sentence-initial in 16.7% and have other positions or are lacking in the remainder)" (Ultan 228 [emphasis mine FA])

¹⁹ I use this odd word "characterology" in order to insinuate some of the typological reflections of Mathesius and the early Prague school into these typological observations.

²⁰ Recall here that the clause-initial position of qws, now, follows as a consequence of SOV order.

²¹ Obviously, I have been presupposing a single base account of Hungarian — this is neither necessary nor, I believe, desirable for Hungarian. I regard this issue i.e. how many bases?, as peripheral and, indeed, diverting to the issue at hand. In addition, later on will be addressing myself to É. Kiss's single base analysis of Hungarian and will try to re-interpret it without recourse to the postulation of multiple bases.

Table 4



The immediate value assuming value of $FTVX^{n+}$ order is, perhaps, not readily evident but on closer inspection, the advantage of such an assumption is considerable. With respect to this advantage, this order explains a fairly wide variety of syntactic sequences in Hungarian. The clause-final and SOV assumption have no such obvious merit. In section 4 I will discuss how the $FTVX^{n+}$ assumption might account for q-formation phenomena in Hungarian: an inquiry, by the way, problematic for this assumption and neglected in E. Kiss 1981. That E. Kiss does not address the issue of q-formation is somewhat curious, especially, since her article argues for the non-configurational status of Hungarian. The reason why this omission seems strange is the following: In the conclusion of Hale, Jeanne, Platero (1976) the authors propose a typology of languages based on the categorial rules of the base. On their account there are Type 1 languages (now commonly referred to as "configurational") and Type 2 Languages (now commonly referred to as "non-configurational"). The authors, also, explicitly recognize that for this proposal to be compelling there should be some consequences for a language to belong to one type and not another. There should be, in their terms, "necessary implications" for membership in one type or the other. Since the authors believe that Walpiri is clearly a Type 2 Language (non-configurational) they propose the following "necessary implication" for inclusion of any given language into the set of Type 2 Languages: "... we would maintain that if, on some grounds or other, a given language is determined to belong to Type 2, then it will necessarily be like Walbiri with respect to the process of content question formation (= qw-formation FA), i.e. it will fail to form questions by extraction from a tensed clause." In Walbiri one can form question (a) but not question (b)

- (a) Where did John tell Bill to go?
- (b) *Where did John say that Bill went?

In Hungarian is, as E. Kiss argues, "non-configurational" one would expect that it would evidence the proposed "necessary implication". If it doesn't exhibit this implication then, perhaps, the implication was not necessary after all or, perhaps Hungarian is not non-configurational or as non-configurational

as Walpiri. If Hungarian does permit wh-extraction from a tensed clause then two observations by Susan Steele are worth bearing in mind:

"More important is the question of whether any substantive distinction can be made between languages on the basis of the types of reorderings allowed: that is, the implication that is supposed to follow from the typology may not be valid."

"if the implications that are supposed to follow from the typology are not obviously substantiated, the original distinction that lead to those expectations is suspect."

In fact, it appears that Hungarian does violate our expectations;

Hova mondtá János hogy Vili ment?
 where said John that Vili went
 'Where did John say that Bill went?'

In what follows I will be assuming that Hungarian syntactic structures should be interpreted, more or less, in the manner of E. Kiss 1981. This entails that Hungarian q-formation is possibly problematic for Hypothesis 1 i.e. depending on where y/n is lexically realized and, clearly problematic for Hypothesis 2 i.e. all qw's are generated to the right of V but appear to the left of V in surface structures.²²

To summarize: Hypotheses 1 and 2 together constitute the so-called Substitution principles of both Baker and Bresnan: there is, supposedly, complementarity between clause-initial y/n and some single qw which can appear there. The postulation of a single clause-initial structural position which accommodates a single constituent served two purposes: 1. it explained why y/n and qw are complementary in this position, 2. it explained why there can be only a single qw moved per clause. Hungarian q-formation is relevant and troublesome.

If it can be demonstrated that complementarity between y/n and qw, clause-initially, is not necessary then, I take it, that Substitution has nothing to explain. On the other hand, if it can also be shown that complementarity between these elements does not necessarily implicate Substitution then Substitution would seem to explain nothing. With respect to the first of these possibilities consider some data from Duala (a Bantu language spoken in West Africa): data from Epée 1976.

²² The assumption that all qw always appear to the left of V in surface structures is an expedient simplification of actual patterns. There are such sentences, for example as:

Ki mit mondott kinek?
 who what said to whom
 'Who said what to whom?'

This small distortion is not, however, material to the points I have been or will be addressing.

- (8) (a) *Nga a wa njika buña, a si langwedi mba.*
 y/n he return qw day he not tell me
- (b) *Nga njika buña a wa no,²³ a si langwedi mba.*
 y/n qw day he return he not tell me
 'When he will return, he did not tell me.' = (both a and b)

Epée comments:

"Note that the (b) sentences above, unlike their (a) counterparts, contain the marker *no* which shows that the *wh*-words [qw's FA] have been moved. If we follow Baker in assuming that the *yes/no* particle, *nga*, is the lexical realization of the Q morpheme, and that *wh*-movement applies only in the presence of that morpheme [only when there is a clause-initial Q slot FA], the argument used to block multiple *wh* preposing, then there will be no way of accounting for the well-formedness of (18b) [= (8b) FA]. Baker's analysis predicts that *wh*-preposing cannot take place in the presence of a *yes/no* particle." (Epée)

As a supplement to Epée's observations one should note that Substitution *per se* i.e. as it affects Bresnan's proposal too, becomes questionable as an explanatory principle.²⁴

Before moving on to the second possibility mentioned above one particular observation concerning the Duala data and their relation to Substitution is in order. Specifically, Epée presents instances where two syntactic forms co-occur in a proscribed place: he does not dwell on the meaning of these examples. Similarly, meaning plays a small role in the formulations of both Baker and Bresnan.²⁵ In other words, the latter linguists propose a restriction on the co-occurrence of syntactic elements and Epée presents disconfirming data. Though *syntactic* substitution does appear unlikely here substitution of a different sort seems clearly in force: the co-occurrence of *y/n* and *qw* does not result in semantic gobbledy-gook i.e. we are not simultaneously confronted with a *Y/N* and a *QW* question. In a similar vein consider the following sentence from Finnish: data from Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979):

- (9) Olet- ko sinä *kuinka* vanha?²⁶
 are y/n you how old
 'How old are you?'

²³ Cf. immediately following quotation from Epée 1976 for an explanation of this morpheme.

²⁴ Cf. section 3 below for Duala data directly countering Bresnan's predictions about the complementarity of *WH* (*y/n*) *qw* and *COMPs*.

²⁵ Of course, both of these formulations at least implicitly acknowledge the gross discriminations between declarative utterances and interrogative ones as well as the differentiation between constituent (*QW*) and propositional (*Y/N*) questions.

²⁶ For a similar observation cf. Karttunen and Peters 1970 and below section 4.

This sentence does not mean, "Are you how old?" — whatever that might mean! Once again, we find an outlawed co-occurrence of syntactic elements and discreteness with respect to the semantic interpretation i.e. either Y/N or QW, of some syntactic structure. As will be demonstrated more elaborately in section 4, there may be some utility in displacing the notion of substitution from SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE into LOGICAL FORM: the unifying element in cross linguistic q-formation thus becoming a reliable semantic complementarity between different types of inquiring i.e. Y/N vs. QW. Moreover, there may be a *tendency* for syntactic structures to reflect this semantic complementarity. On the other hand, there is no a priori reason to assume that complementarity is essentially a hermetic syntactic phenomenon — especially, if such an assumption creates numerous "exceptions".

The concluding comments to this discussion belong to Ultan:

"Logically, one would expect to find QPs [y/n FA] only in *yes/no* questions, since INQs [information seeking questions i.e. QWs FA] already contain at least one clearly marked interrogative device [qw FA]. As a comment on redundancy in language it is worth noting that the odds are practically even for this kind of situation: of 42 languages QPs occur with INQs or *yes/no* questions [that is, in Y/N or QW FA] in 25 languages, and only with *yes/no* questions in 23 (6 languages have both types). Furthermore, the genetic, geographic and typological distributions of both types are quite random." (Ultan 228)

Let's return now to the second question posed earlier i.e. when there is complementarity between y/n and qw is syntactic Substitution a necessary or even compelling principle? One should add immediately that though the relevant complementarity is hardly ironclad i.e. Duala above, it is a frequent phenomenon. As a frequent phenomenon it demands an explanation: the question of immediate concern is simply whether syntactic substitution is a suitable one.

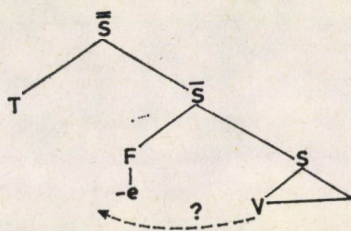
In the following discussion I will be assuming that É. Kiss's F corresponds to Bresnan's COMP.²⁷ Though Kiss is not explicit about such a parallelism it is clear that the usual formulation of wh-movement is felt in her formulation for a rule of Focussing cf. É. Kiss 1981 and section 4 below. The latter rule affects only a single constituent and moves it into some structural position, namely F, to the left of V. Moreover, F is constrained to accommodate the presence of, at most, a single constituent. Since there is good distributional motivation for assuming that Hungarian qw does appear in F cf. section 4 below, the assumption of some sort of correspondence between COMP

²⁷ Two remarks should be made here; 1. in a more general sense F corresponds to COMP as it is formulated in recent generative analyses too cf. section 4, 2. since Baker's Q has been, more or less, superseded (but cf. Brandon and Seki 1981) it is hard to confidently claim that F is also analogous to Q: on the other hand, inasmuch as some principle of substitution may not work well for COMP it might be reasoned that it is inapplicable to Q as well.

and wh-movement and F and the rule of Focussing seems tenable: both accounts suggest some significant relation between a structural position outside S and its explanatory value in accounting for limited movement of qw's.

Earlier I observed that Hungarian y/n i.e. *-e*, does not have a fixed position with respect to the clause but does have one with respect to the predicate: y/n goes where the predicate goes and is cliticized to it. If one assumed that y/n were lexically realizable within F this would require the additional assumption that some rule obligatorily applies, preposing V whenever this actually occurs.²⁸ Schematically, this presents the following situation:

Table 5



Where is the site for V pre-posing?; within F there is room for only one element and *-e* is there, while moving V into some adjacent node (whatever that might be) would have to insure constituency between V and *-e* since they behave as a unit.²⁹

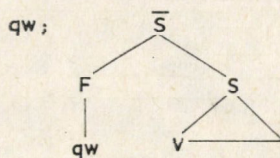
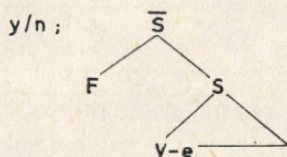
Given the complications introduced by the preceding assumption let's make another assumption and see if it is preferable. Let's assume that y/n can be lexically realized after V. This assumption entails that y/n and qw appear in different positions: the former in V, the latter in F. It further follows that substitution can no longer explain the complementarity of y/n and qw:

²⁸ It seems to me, perhaps incorrectly, that even if one assumed some independent COMP node i.e. independent of F, where y/n could be lexically realized that this would still create problems for the issue I will address here. In particular, if one assumed some separate preverbal COMP node where y/n could appear and also assumed that qw is moved into F then there would be no principled limit on the number of constituents moved into F; since y/n and qw appear in different positions substitution is inadmissible as an explanatory principle.

²⁹ It might additionally be wondered what sort of rule applies now which can move a newly formed constituent rightward into S since, as we have seen, this constituent does not always appear clause initially.

I should add here that it is not, in principle, impossible to figure out a solution to the dilemma of V forming a constituent with *-e*. One could for instance assume that V is moved into F and that only Vs are permitted to do this; qw's would still be prohibited from moving there when y/n was there and substitution would retain some explanatory force. However, it would retain explanatory force at the cost of adding an ad hoc movement rule and an otherwise unmotivated restriction into the grammar.

Table 6



Now we are faced with a regularity without an explanation for it: at least on the previous assumption we preserved an explanation — though at uncertain cost to the grammar. Is there any way that the consequence of accepting the present assumption i.e. the absence of an explanation, can be avoided? I believe that if one makes the same move here as we did with the Duala data a coherent account of complementarity follows. In particular, let's assume that whenever y/n appears it corresponds with some Y/N in LOGICAL FORM and let's assume that the same can be said of qw(s) and QW(s)³⁰. Let's exclude the possibility that sentences can be interpreted simultaneously as Y/N and QW: semantically, these two sorts of questions evidence complementary distribution. As a final assumption, let's say that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for this semantic complementarity to be reflected in syntactic complementarity: the actual constraints on the syntactic complementarity being less clear than the simple fact that a tendency toward such a correspondence i.e. between semantics and syntax, exists. On the basis of this series of assumptions one might argue that the proposal which allows a lexical realization of y/n after V is not so wild. This proposal requires a battery of assumptions but these or similar ones also can account for the Duala data and, in principle, all supposedly regular instances of q-formation ordinarily explained by syntactic substitution.

In this section I have questioned the empirical basis and theoretical utility of Hypotheses 1 and 2 as well as the so-called Substitution Principle facilitated by these Hypotheses. As I mentioned earlier, the syntactic site for Substitution i.e. Q or COMP, is an independent issue. Baker's proposal of Q position appears ragged since these, supposedly, supportive hypotheses don't lend their desired support. Of course, whatever advantage was supposed to accrue to Bresnan's proposal, too, is questionable. Yet, concerning her account, it remains to be answered whether even if Substitution had been found viable it could have convincingly been interpreted as operating within COMP. Section 3 will address the question of WH as a COMP.

³⁰ My references to LOGICAL FORM are generally a shorthand for referring to semantics rather than syntax and should probably not be taken more seriously than that. In fact, I must admit with embarrassment that I was entirely ignorant of the role of logical form in generative grammar in the interpretation of questions. This will become painfully apparent in section Y but cf. appendix.

3. Bresnan deftly develops a series of distributional arguments in support of the thesis that WH is a COMP. These arguments are based on the distributional patterns of English but are presumed to have central significance for our understanding of universal syntactic structure. In particular, the thesis of WH as a COMP establishes the structural location where Substitution is supposed to obtain.

In her arguments Bresnan does not claim total behavioral identity between the English COMPs *that*, *for* and WH. Instead, she illustrates that there is a suggestive similarity in the syntactic behaviors of COMP and WH. Her arguments are, in principle, separable into two types: 1. COMP and WH resemble one another — and are, presumably, distinct from other things — in that they share distinctive syntactic behavior, 2. there is an enumeration of specific shared behaviors. Any inquiry concerned with 1 would look for behavioral dissimilarities between COMP and WH. Further, it would question whether such dissimilarities were significant. Differences might be regarded as significant to the degree that they implicate a consistently close relation between WH and something other than COMP: in a such a case WH might justifiably be identified with something other than COMP. This sort of inquiry would, in effect, be claiming that the interpretations of the cited English data are ambiguous: the distributions would not point unequivocally to the identification of COMP and WH. This sort of inquiry is not part of my present task. Instead, I will attend to 2. I assume that there are unambiguous and distinctive shared behaviors between COMP and WH in English. The question I will address in this section is whether two such behaviors can claim universal status. If they cannot then it seems fair to assume that the consequences drawn from their validity in English are not necessarily transferable to analyses of other languages. In addition, I will consider the English-based consequences particularly misleading if an interpretation of relevant data can be given which accounts both for English and for other languages in a straightforward way.

In English there are no sentences such as:

- (10) * I asked *that whether* Peter is at home.

In particular, English evidences complementarity between clause-initial COMP and WH. English also does not permit such sequences as:

- (11) (a)* I asked *that what* Peter said.
 (b)* I asked *whether what* Peter said.

In other words, English does not permit any combination of COMP WH (= y/n) or qw to appear together within the same clause. This distribution would speak in favor of a hypothesis claiming that COMP can be lexically

realized as either *for* or *that* or WH and that if COMP remains empty i.e. there is no lexical realization, then qw can move into the single empty COMP slot. Naturally, such an hypothesis predicts and explains the complementarity of these elements in clause-initial position: it predicts and explains the relevant phenomena of English. However, wherever we find languages where these complementarities do not obtain the hypothesis is questionable: it explains something that doesn't occur and doesn't explain what does.

Earlier I cited a sentence from Duala in which y/n co-occurred with qw: this presented a problem for Baker's assumption about complementarity of y/n and qw supportive of his Q node. There is also direct evidence from Duala that COMP, WH and qw can all co-occur clause-initially, data from Epée 1976:

- (12) *Nga na nje ba domise na, ba si langwedi mba.*
 y/n COMP what they decide they not tell me
 'What they decided, they didn't tell me'

COMP can also co-occur clause-initially with either y/n or qw in Hungarian and Romanian:

- (13) (a) *Megkérdeztem, (hogy) Péter otthon van-e.*
 pfx-asked COMP Peter at-home is -y/n
 'I asked whether Peter was at home?'

- (b) *Megkérdeztem, (hogy) ki mit mondott.*
 pfx-asked COMP who what said
 'I asked who said what'

(Hungarian)

- (14) (a) *Am întrebam (că) dacă a citit mama copilului povesti.*
 I asked COMP y/n read mother children-to story
 'I asked whether the mother read the story to her children'

- (b) *Am întrebam (că) cine ce-a spus cui*
 I asked COMP who what said who-to
 'I asked who said what to whom'

(Romanian)

The a sentences illustrate that, in both of these languages, COMP can co-occur with y/n while the b sentences demonstrate that COMP can co-occur with several pre-posed qw's.³¹

³¹ Two things should be mentioned about the Romanian data. First of all, declarative order in Romanian is, typically, SVO and therefore q-formation i.e. multiple qw movement is problematic for the thesis of Substitution regardless of where Substitution is

The distributional patterns from three genetically unrelated languages i.e. Duala (Bantu), Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) and Romanian (Indo-European,³² suggest that the complementarity between COMP and q-elements i.e. y/n and/or qw's, is not very compelling. As a generalization concerning the state of present day English it seems justifiable: it does not seem transferable to the languages investigated here.

A second distributional argument in support of the assumption that WH is a COMP is the following: Among the various deletability options shared by COMPs and WH both are obligatorily deleted in matrix or "non-embedded, highest clauses." This accurately describes the unacceptability of such English sentences as:

- (15) (a) **That* Sarah loves frogs
 (b) **Whether* Sarah loves frogs.

However, we have already seen that in Russian cf. (3a), Serbo-Croatian cf. (4a), Duala cf. (5a) and Hungarian cf. (6a), y/n can appear in matrix clauses. The inappropriateness of assuming an obligatory absence of matrix WH for these languages is plain: there is no need to deliberate on this aspect of the obvious. There is another aspect, however, which is fairly instructive: the discordant distributions between English and the other languages present us with, at least, two analytic options. In particular, we can try to interpret Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Duala and Hungarian through the prism of English or

supposed to operate. On the other hand regarding the co-occurrence of COMP and either y/n or qw's it should be mentioned that this combination, apparently, does not follow the prescriptive norms for this language. Specifically, my informant located such utterances in the speech of the "uneducated" and commented that they are frequent in this milieu. Irrespective of whether "the uneducated" constitutes a reliably bounded sociolinguistic group it seems that sentences (14a) and (b) do deviate from the prescriptive norm and the accepted, usual structures in the everyday speech of a lot of Romanian speakers. This discord between prescriptive norm and actual usage raises a question concerning universal structural claims: does the prediction inherent in COMP Substitution preclude, outright, the co-occurrence of supposed COMPs? If such outlawed co-occurrences, nevertheless, occur what is the status of the thesis as a Universal? In Romanian the violation can be connected with a specific speech community. Does such a specification save the thesis in a similar manner to the way that "exceptional case marking" is supposed to save the universality of case theory? Chomsky (1980) suggests, in essence, that the Universal Theory of Case is inviolable and that apparent violations of it are instances of "exceptional case marking": they are specifiable exceptions to the Theory. In other words, a principle can remain inviolable as long as exceptions to it can be clearly defined. On a generous interpretation this way of arguing helps preserve generalizations for a maximal length of time. On a less generous interpretation, this way of arguing may prolong the lives of generalizations that are dubious and achieves this by utilizing an exceptionally idiosyncratic definition of the terms "universal" and "inviolable".

³² Bresnan herself mentions that Middle English COMPs co-occurred with q-elements. This distribution seems strange, naturally, if viewed against the distribution in modern English. However, when viewed as similar to the distributions of Duala, Hungarian and Romanian it seems quite regular.

vice versa. The strategy implicit in Bresnan's analysis is the first option: other languages are interpreted through the prism of English distributions. Where languages don't conform to these English-based distributions they are exceptional. Moreover the final nature of their non-conformity is not clear: do the exceptions themselves represent some coherent class of cases? Bresnan has chosen one option, the other remains. In what follows I will try to show that a change in the direction of analysis i.e. looking at English through the prism of the other languages, can result in regularizing the distributions of all these languages.

Consider the q-formation schema for language types A and B:³³

Table 7

	A			Question type:	B		
direct:			qw _s V	subject qw		qw _s V	
	qw	X	su V	non-subject qw	qw	su V	
		X	su V	yes/no	y/n	su V	
indirect:			qw _s V	subject qw		qw _s V	
		qw	su V	non-subject qw	qw	su V	
		y/n	su V	yes/no	y/n	su V	

According to this schema direct and indirect questions are identical for type B. In contrast, the distributions differ within type A: X appears in direct questions and is absent from indirect questions while y/n now appears there. The indirect question pattern for type A is identical to both patterns of type B. Taking English as a representative of A and Finnish as a representative of B we get the following sentences:

- (16) (a) *Mitä kieltä hän puhuu?*
 what language he speaks
 (b) 'What language does he speak?'

³³ This schema, in some measure, deviates from the actual distributions found in B languages. In particular, we have seen that sometimes y/n is cliticized to V cf. Russian, Hungarian, and therefore the schema should be something like V-y/n su.

In addition, the schema does not accurately describe the situation between qw and V in e.g. Hungarian: the situation in Hungarian is actually something like qw V su I have overlooked such specificities in order to dwell on the fact that B languages all have clause-initial (however interpreted) y/n's in both direct and indirect questions: as a group then, in this respect, they are different from A languages. In addition, I have idealized the location of subject but I believe that this has no serious consequences and simplifies the presentation of my point. The abbreviations used in the schema are as follows: qw_s = subject question word, V = verb predicate, qw = non-subject question word, su = subject, y/n = yes/no q-particle, and X = some element that appears in both y/n qw matrix questions. In my discussion of this schema I will ignore the pattern qw_s V since it is identical in both possible environments for both languages i.e. it occurs in both direct and indirect questions for both types A and B.

- (c) Tuomari kysyy, *mitä kieltä* han puhuu.
 judge ask *what language* he speaks
- (d) 'The judge is asking *what language* he speaks'
- (17) (a) Uskot- *ko* sinä, että se on totta?
 believe y/n you that this is true
- (b) 'Do you believe that this is true?'
- (c) Tuomari kysyy, uskot- *ko* sinä, että se on totta.
 judge ask believe y/n you that this is true
- (d) 'The judge is asking *whether* you believe that this is true.'

From these examples it is clear that, in Finnish, direct qw orders constructions are identical to indirect qw constructions cf. (16a) and (c). In addition, direct y/n sequences are identical to indirect ones in this language cf. (17a) and (c). In contrast, the situation is a little different for the English equivalents: both direct variants evidence the element *did* (= X in Table 7) and an explicit expression of y/n is absent³⁴ while *did* is missing from both indirect variant and y/n appears cf (16b) and (d) (= direct) vs. (17b) and (d) (= indirect).

If we accept, in principle, that direct and indirect sequences for both q-types in B are regular and that indirect sequences in A are identical to both then the only irregular patterns are the direct sequences in A. The question arises as to whether there is a way to relativize the direct patterns of A to the regular patterns found elsewhere. Put somewhat differently, is there a way to demonstrate that English direct q-sequences are simply quirky expressions of regular patterns found elsewhere? In order to demonstrate this it is instructive to note the complementarity of X (direct questions) and y/n (indirect questions found in type A. Let's assume a structural environment for direct questions) ____ X where any non-subject qw can appear in ____ or where ____ can remain empty. If ____ remains empty this indicates that y/n is, underlyingly, there. In other words, I am, essentially, suggesting that English makes use of a structural possibility to avoid redundant marking of y/n. Specifically, the opposition between the set of all qw's that could appear in ____ X and the absence of something in ____ X is significant. Empty ____ is equivalent to a zero morpheme which occurs with X. Since \emptyset X can only signal y/n

³⁴ It is also clear that qw and y/n sequences are not literally, identical to one another. This is precisely the reason for footnote 33. Specifically, in Finnish all possible orders of both types i.e. y/n direct and indirect, qw direct and indirect, evidence the presence of some q-element i.e. either y/n or qw. Since we have seen sequences of COMP y/n and COMP qw in this section it should be said that Baker's Q node is, in principle, descriptively more adequate than Bresnan's assumption that WH is a COMP. The latter assumption, as we have seen, precludes co-occurrence of COMP and q-elements while Baker's Q could presumably co-occur with COMP. Baker's Q stumbles wherever Substitution fails.

it is sufficiently differentiated from all possible instances of *qw* X. On the other hand, the environment ____ X disappears in indirect questions therefore there is a need for the explicit presence of *y/n*. Diagrammatically, the situation is as follows:

Table 8

	form:	type:
direct:	<i>qw</i> X	any non-subject <i>qw</i>
	\emptyset X (= <i>y/n</i> X)	<i>y/n</i>
indirect:	<i>qw</i>	any <i>qw</i>
	<i>y/n</i>	<i>y/n</i>

In summary, English seems to exploit a structural opportunity to avoid redundant marking of *y/n* in direct questions. When the exploitable environment disappears, as it does in indirect questions, the resultant pattern in English resembles the regular patterns found in languages of type B.

In the preceding, somewhat labyrinthine, conjectures no mention was made of COMP. Indeed, the relevant regularities seem statable even disregarding COMP entirely. The common but not necessary cf. Duala, complementarity of *q*-elements i.e. either *y/n* or *qw*'s, is sufficient to characterize cross-linguistic similarities. The introduction of COMP both leads to false predictions cf. two of Bresnan's distributional arguments examined in this section, and inverts the roles between exceptions and regularities.

If WH is not a COMP and the regularities of cross-linguistic *q*-formation can be more faithfully stated without reference to COMP then, perhaps, Baker's postulation of a Q node had some merit.³⁵ Cross-linguistically *q*-formation seems to constitute a coherent phenomenon independent of COMP. Baker's assumption of a separate Q node permits *q*-formation to retain its integrity: after all, on Baker's account, there is only complementarity between the two sorts of syntactic markers constitutive of *q*-formation, namely, *y/n* and *qw*'s. On the other hand, in section 2 we saw that Substitution is not unproblematic since *y/n* sometimes co-occurs clause-initially with *qw* and sometimes multiple *qw*'s appear in clause initial position. In addition, since *y/n*, apparently, can co-occur with *qw* the complementarity of the constitutive elements of *q*-formation seems in doubt.³⁶ I have pointed out that this violation of complementarity concerns the syntactic markers of *q*-formation i.e. *y/n*

³⁵ For an elaboration of the notion "explicit expression of *y/n*" I suggest some patience; the reason for this way of referring to *y/n* will become clear below.

³⁶ Though I have sometimes used the terms Substitution and complementarity interchangeably they are, of course, separate phenomena.

and qw. All instances of q-formation cited here, however, have maintained an semantic complementarity between Y/N and QW.

There is such an alluring similarity in q-formation across so many languages that, surely, there must be some unifying principle at issue. The syntactic principle of Substitution has foundered on several counts. In contrast, a semantic principle of Substitution, based on the complementarity of Y/N and QW(s), has been observed. In section 4 I will embellish on this notion of semantic Substitution with particular reference to the syntax of Hungarian.³⁷

4. In the introduction to this article I mentioned Toman's preferred treatment of q-formation and one of its putative advantages. In particular, he recommended multiple proliferation of COMP nodes since this would have the advantage of satisfying the COMP Substitution Universal. If, as argued in section 3, Substitution is a suspicious or inadequate explanation wherever it is supposed to occur i.e. COMP or Q, then this is certainly a dubious advantage. Moreover, if WH is not convincingly regardable as a COMP then treatments bound to this assumption are not necessarily preferable to ones that are not. One would assume that this is especially so if the former treatments tend to make q-formation look more idiosyncratic than it actually is. In what follows I will tender an interpretation which simultaneously points to the linguistic relatedness of diverse q-formation strategies and allows for syntactic differences between them.

The following proposal is both sketchy and informal. Some of its formal consequences may be undesirable. My hope, however, is that if the proposal is conceptually appealing that some satisfactory formal adaption can be worked out at some other time.

The force of my proposal is somewhat simple. I will simply displace the principle of Substitution ordinarily imputed to syntactic structure into LOGICAL FORM. I will posit the existence of some position in LF which is peripheral to the proposition and which is the location for Q-operators. Either Y/N or any number of QWs can appear in this position: Y/N and the set of QWs are in complementarity distribution with one another and together comprise the category Q-operator. There is, in other words, a paradigmatic relation between Y/N and QW for some position Y although there is no such relation between the members of the set of QWs. In syntactic structure, on the other hand, I will assume some position Y_1 — not necessarily a peripheral

³⁷ In order to avoid confusion the following should be said: In section 3 my arguments or objections were addressed to the notion of WH as a COMP not to the notion of the viability of a COMP node per se. In fact, utility of a COMP node or something like it is evident in the greater descriptive adequacy of Baker's Q-node hypothesis which permits the co-appearance of COMP and Q.

position but often so — which corresponds to Y of LOGICAL FORM.³⁸ Complementarity of Q-elements in Y, however, does not entail complementarity of q-elements in Y₁. In particular, complementarity between different semantic sorts of inquiring i.e. Y/N vs QW, does not entail complementarity in the syntactic expression of the elements typically utilized to encode these semantic subtypes. We have seen two languages where both y/n and qw can co-occur syntactically i.e. Duala and Finnish and several instances where numerous qw's do the same i.e. Hungarian, Slavic, Romanian. Despite such syntactic co-occurrences, however, the semantic interpretation of these structures is unambiguously either Y/N or QW.

Obviously, a demonstration of the validity and usefulness of the preceding assumptions represents a colossal empirical and theoretical task. My present goal is, necessarily, more modest. In section 2 I noted that multiple clause-initial qw's possibly present a problem for E. Kiss's interpretation of F as accommodating, at most, a single constituent. I also pointed to the parallelisms between F and the Rule of Focussing vs. COMP and WH-movement. In the remainder of this section I will try to show that, in Hungarian, numerous QWs can appear in Y and that numerous qw's can, correspondingly, appear in Y₁.³⁹ Moreover, Y₁ is the same as Kiss's F. If this is so then several constituents can appear in F and Kiss's restriction on the permissible number of constituents in F is too strong.⁴⁰

On E. Kiss's account (1981) Hungarian is a non-configurational language with a base order of TOPIC FOCUS VERB Xⁿ⁺ (where Xⁿ⁺ signals any arbitrary number of maximal major categories). Two movement rules can operate on this basic order and their effect is to change the sequence of constituents. These rules do not alter grammatical role. Instead, they change the communicative status of affected constituents. The two rules are: the rule of Topicalization and the Rule of Focusing. Each rule moves some constituent leftward into either T (Topicalization) or F (Focusing). An unlimited number of constituents in almost any order can occupy T. The restriction on F is more severe: only one constituent at any one time can appear here. The Rule of Focusing is formulated as follows:

³⁸ I am assuming a single syntactic position Y₁ more out of convenience than out of necessity since it is possible 1. there may be more than one such position in some given structure — alternatively more than one element might appear in a single position — cf. Duala, 2. there may be two distinct positions as intimated for Hungarian where it seemed that, though complementary, y/n and qw occupied different syntactic positions cf. section 2.

³⁹ It has been pointed out to me by Anna Szabolcsi that in Szabolcsi (1980) she argues that Hungarian syntax reflects LOGICAL FORM in a manner different from the relation between the components in, for instance, English. For a more elaborate discussion I recommend the reader to that article.

⁴⁰ I will, on the other hand, be ignoring the position of y/n. I will just assume that Hungarian is a language where the tendency for complementarity between y/n and qw's is in force but where this tendency does not necessitate identical locations for these elements.

W_1	X^n	V	W_2	X^n	W_3	Rule of Focusing
1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	5	3	4	e	6	

The application of this rule accounts for the difference between such structures as

- (18) (a) [Az asszony][Ø] hallotta az imádott férfi lépteit
 T T F
 the woman heard the adored man steps
 'the woman heard the steps of the man she adored'
- (b) Az asszony AZ IMÁDOTT FÉRFI LÉPTEIT hallotta.
 the woman the adored man steps heard
 'It was the footsteps of the man she adored that
 the woman heard (and {no one else's}).⁴¹
 {nothing else }

Focusing is formulated as an optional rule but there are, in fact, several instances where its failure to apply yields marked constructions. In particular, there is a categorially motley assortment of elements which, ordinarily, occupy F. E. Kiss refers to this groups collectively as "reduced complements". This group includes such elements as verbal prefixes, determinerless NPs and on A. Szabolcsi's account (personal communication), infinitives, as well.

- (19) (a) Sherlock Holmes [át-] fogta a lány vállát.
 Sherlock Holmes pfx^F-grab the girl shoulder
 'Sherlock Holmes grabbed the girl's shoulder.'
- (b) Sherlock Holmes A LÁNY VÁLLÁT fogta át.
 Sherlock Holmes the girl shoulder grab pfx
 'It was the girl's shoulder that Sherlock Holmes grabbed.'⁴²
- (20) (a) Az ápolónő [levelet] ír.
 the nurse letter^F writes
 'The nurse is writing letters (= letter-writing).'
- (b) AZ ÁPOLÓNŐ ír levelet.
 the nurse writes letter
 'It is the nurse who is letter-writing'.

⁴¹ I will use capital letters to indicate constituents with emphatic focus. These constituents are in F. These constituents receive special stress.

⁴² Sentences (18) and (19) were based on sentences found in Gyula Hernádi's *Hasfelmetső Jack* (Jack the Ripper) Magvető, Budapest 1982.

- (21) (a) Attila [szürcsölⁿⁱ] kezdte a kávét.
 Attila to-sip^F began the coffee
 'Attila began sipping the coffee.'
- (b) Attila A KÁVÉT kezdte szürcsölⁿⁱ
 Attila the coffee began to-sip
 'It was the coffee Attila began sipping'.

The "displacement" of those reduced complements occupying F in (19a), (20a) and (21a) (pfx, determinerless NP and infinitive, respectively) signals emphatic focus for constituents occupying F in (19b), (20b) and (21b).⁴³ The stress patterns are different for the Fs in the (a) sentences and those in the (b) sentences: for the sake of convenience, I will refer to the stress pattern of the former as 2 and of the latter as 1. In passing, it should be mentioned that É. Kiss's Rule of Focusing does not distinguish between the different sorts of elements that can occupy F and, consequently, does not distinguish between what might be referred to as "neutral" vs. "marked" sequences of constituents. The rule simply accounts for the fact that there is a special preverbal structural position which can, allegedly, be filled by a single constituent. There is no explanation for the variable readings i.e. emphatic vs. non-emphatic, displayed by the different occupants of F.

Despite their syntactic or categorial heterogeneity reduced complements share several properties. They all exhibit:

"... reduced independence both syntactically and semantically. Semantically they constitute a homogeneous unit with the verb. The complement has no referent of its own: it merely adds features to those of the verb." (É. Kiss 43)

Although qw's are not usually included in the set of reduced complements it appears that they fit the syntactic and semantic profile of these elements. Syntactically, qw's occupy F without, obligatorily, receiving stress 1. Semantically, QW's seem the limiting case of referentiality: they themselves are not referential but, rather, they request a specification of references.

I will assume without argumentation that reduced complements are base generated in F. The assimilation of qw's into the category of reduced complements yields the following situation with respect to F. There is one set of elements that are in demonstrably different structural positions before and after the Rule of Focusing, optionally, applies. Given a simple minded distinction between "neutral" and "marked" sequences of constituents, application of Focusing creates a "marked" order for these elements cf. (18a) vs. (b). In contrast, there is another set of elements i.e. reduced complements, which appear

⁴³ The reduced complements can exhibit emphatic focus. In this case they appear in preverbal position and receive stress 1. cf. below in the text.

in F in "neutral" constructions. These latter elements occupy F unless displaced by elements of the first set or if several reduced complements co-occur.⁴⁴ In the case of displacement we are dealing with "marked" structures from two perspectives: 1. some element which, neutrally, occupies F appears elsewhere, 2. some element which, neutrally, appears elsewhere now occupies F.

On the basis of this, suspiciously, neat distinction between two sorts of occupants of F i.e. reduced complements vs. non-reduced complements, it seems that an adequate rule of Focusing should be formulated as follows: it is an optionally applicable rule which moves certain constituents and always assigns first stress to the affected occupant of F. The movement portion of the rule would, ordinarily, affect nonreduced complements cf. (18a) and (b)⁴⁵. Stress assignment, on the other hand, would apply similarly to either moved constituents or reduced complements which, otherwise, neutrally appear in F.

Among numerous formal difficulties encountered by this revision there is, at least, one obvious descriptive problem. If we assume that reduced complements can appear neutrally in F (this is, in fact, a definitional property of reduced complements) and that F can only accommodate a single constituent then, if qw's are reduced complements, how do we explain the multiple preverbal positioning of qw's? Two possible solutions present themselves: either 1: at most, one qw is in F and all others must appear elsewhere, or 2. all qw's are in F. The first solution requires one to adduce a palatable preverbal structural site for the location of "extra" qw's. The second solution requires one to adduce arguments for assuming that F can sometimes be multiply filled. In what follows I will argue against 1 and for 2.⁴⁶

Given É. Kiss's invariant structure schema of T F V the only preverbal location for "extra" qw's would be T. However, as pointed out by Szabolcsi (personal communication), qw's do not behave like other elements occupying T. In particular, two properties characterize T: 1. any number of constituents can appear there, and 2. these constituents can appear in any order within T. qw's, in contrast, do not exhibit the typically flexible ordering possibilities of other constituents within T: qw's tend to "clump" together before the predicate.

⁴⁴ For a similar characterization which compares reduced complements with incorporated elements in other languages cf. Ackerman 1981.

⁴⁵ I say "ordinarily" since there are sentences which contain multiple occurrences of reduced complements and where only one sequence of these elements is neutral, all others marked. The occupation, one might say, "neutral" occupation, of F by one numerous reduced complements is determined by a hierarchy internal to the set of reduced complements. Deviation from this hierarchy involves leftward movement of some reduced complements into F and therefore might also be accounted for by the movement portion of the revised rule of Focusing.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that this descriptive problem exists independent of whether one accepts Kiss's original rule of Focusing or the revised sketch of one offered above. Kiss's proposal precludes multiple occupation of F by qw's and, in fact, a discussion of multiple question formation is neglected in É. Kiss 1981.

mit alone, in 24 results in the postposing of the verbal prefix *oda*. One might expect that if e.g. *mit* did not occupy F in (24) then *ki*, which appears in Q, could co-occur with a verbal prefix located in F:

- (25) * Ki fel- olvasott mit a gyereknek?
 Q F
 who aloud read what the child-to

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (25) is unclear. If *ki* can occupy Q why can't it do so when some non-question constituent occupies F? Is there any evidence against assuming that the presence of both *ki* and *mit* causes the post-posing of verbal prefixes? In other words, is it possible that qw's behave as a unit despite their evident syntactic independence from one another? Perhaps, (25) is ungrammatical because qw's in any number always displace verbal prefixes from F. Perhaps, qw's in any number can appear in F.

There is another sort of observation which disfavors the assumption that "extra" qw's appear in Q. Though this assumption does not preclude noting some semantic regularity to the qw sequences it assigns it in effect, ignores a possibly significant regularity in this domain. Hungarian evidences a preferred order of qw constituents i.e. an order perceived as, more or less, neutral by native speakers. For instance, 24 is generally regarded as more "neutral" than:

- (26) Mit KI adott oda a menyasszonynak?
 what who gave pfx the bride-to
 'It was who who gave what to the bride?'

Despite appearances, Hungarian neutral qw sequences are not sensitive to grammatical role i.e. nominative/subject precedes accusative/object, but rather to the animacy of arguments. Animates, neutrally, precede inanimates. The sequence of grammatical roles depends on the semantics of the given verb. In general, it seems that verbs of emotion e.g. *felvidít* 'cheer up', *felbosszant* 'irritate', require object subject orders:

- (27) Kit mi érdekel?
 who-ACC what-NOM interest
 'Who is interested in what?'

In other words, Hungarian qw sequences show an interesting relation between syntactic role, animacy and neutral order. One might wonder, then, whether there is some sort of coherence specific to qw's which is obscured by simply assuming that one qw goes to F and the others go elsewhere. Positing Q provides the appropriate structure for preserving the hypothesis that F is maxi-

mally filled by a single constituent. However, there seems little independent evidence for assuming that qw's actually appear in Q. Instead, several phenomena seem to suggest that qw's constitute a single phenomenon despite the fact that separate qw's are clearly separate constituents. Given that there are intimations of the unity of QW is there some way to demonstrate that multiple qw's are entitled to be considered as occupying the same structural slot, namely F?

Since we have seen that syntactic evidence for the actual structural location of multiple qw's is meager is there some other criterion which uniquely characterizes F and could serve as a clue to the occupants of this slot? Szabolcsi (1981) proposes that F is the position for "exhaustive listing". The basic idea here is that any constituent occupying F satisfies a condition roughly characterizable as "this and nothing else", cf. the English gloss for sentence (18b). This semantic criterion seems to jibe with the observation that only a single constituent at a time appears in F: a single syntactic constituent corresponds with the semantic requirement for "exhaustive listing".

Using "exhaustive listing" as an independent criterion for determining whether constituents are or are not in F the following question arises: What is the relation of multiple qw's to "exhaustive listing?" If it can be demonstrated that "exhaustive listing" characterizes several co-occurrent qw's there are at least, two obvious alternative consequences: 1. either "exhaustive listing" is weakened as a criterion for or special property of F (since it also characterizes e.g. qw's in Q) 2. or, all constituents affected by "exhaustive listing" are in F and multiple qw's are in F. I will argue for the second alternative.

Consider the following two sentences and their English paraphrases:

- (28) (a) Ki mit adott a menyasszonynak?
 who what gave the bride-to
 'Who gave what to the bride?'

paraphrase: Who gave something to the bride and what did he give?

- (b) Ki és mit adott a menyasszonynak?
 who and what gave the bride-to
 'Who and what gave to the bride?'⁴⁷

paraphrase: Who gave something and what was given?

⁴⁷ It is perhaps interesting to note that whereas English sentences such as, *Who and what gave to the bride*, *Who and what was given to the bride*, are peculiar their Hungarian equivalents are fairly natural. The English conjoined constituents seem to function either as subject or object respectively while the Hungarian equivalents do not force syntactic identity into the interpretation of the conjoined constituents. In addition, whereas central syntactic roles i.e. subject, object, indirect object resist conjunction "peripheral" or "circumstantial" roles permit it e.g. *Where and when did John get those tickets?* vs.* *To whom and what did John give?*

A satisfactory reply to (28a) demands an "exhaustive list" pairing givers with gifts they gave. A reply consisting of one giver and one gift, in English as well as Hungarian, seems to 1. be deficient, or 2. imply that there was, indeed, only a single giver and the gift he gave. The important things to note here are the relation of pairing between the two qw's and the fact that an exhaustive list is implicated for both qw's. (28b), apparently, permits two satisfactory responses. The odder response consists of two separate and unrelated lists containing givers and gifts. The second, more natural response, pairs a single giver with the gift he gave.

On the assumption that it is reasonable for conjoined constituents to be considered as a single constituent, the explicitly conjoined qw's in (28b) could both occupy F. Both explicit conjunction and the criterion of "exhaustive listing" argue for such an interpretation. On the other hand, the qw's in (28a) are not explicitly conjoined though both constituents are affected by "exhaustive listing". In addition (28a) like (28b) corresponds to conjoined clauses in English.

In sum, the criterion of "exhaustive listing" suggests that the qw's in (28b) as well as those in (28a) are in F. F is, consequently, multiply filled. However, F is only multiply filled by constituents of the same semantic sort, namely QWs. The restriction on single occupation of F seems to require a proviso: F can only be occupied by the syntactic expression of one sort of semantic type.⁴⁸

Q-formation in Hungarian, then, consists of a set of qw's which appear in F or of y/n which appears after the predicate. These syntactic expressions of q-formation are matched by a semantic distinction between QW and Y/N. QW represents a coherent semantic category with numerous constituents i.e. the different QW's. The semantic coherence of this category is reflected in the multiple occupation of F by qw's.

Conclusions

Throughout this article I have suggested that an adequate cross-linguistic account of q-formation should start from the observation that Q-formation or Semantic Substitution is an invariant principle cross-linguistically. I have suggested that the principle of syntactic substitution is misleading and inadequate on several counts. I have not suggested that correct and interesting syntactic constraints on q-formation cannot, in principle, be formulated.

⁴⁸ Of course, the notion of sorts of semantic types needs further clarification but limitations of time and space restrict further discussion here. Suffice it to say that there are other instances in Hungarian when other sorts of reduced complements appear multiply in F e.g. prefix-prefix, *meg-megáll* without explicit conjunction.

Nor have I suggested that such formulations would not be explanatory. Instead, I have simply questioned the wisdom of extrapolating large universal explanations from an impoverished data base. A more compelling syntactic account might benefit from surveying a wider sample of the syntactic expressions of q-formation.

On the basis of the data examined in this article there appears to be a cross-linguistic tendency for the complementarity of Q-elements i.e. Y/N or QW, to be reflected in the complementarity of q-elements. In other words, it seems to be the case that complementarity in semantics is matched by complementarity in syntax for the formation of questions. However, this seems to be a tendency rather than an inviolable and reliable law. It remains to be determined whether such a tendency, in its various possible strengths, co-varies with any other syntactic processes in particular languages and more dramatically, cross-linguistically.

Appendix

After completing the present draft of this paper several relevant items became plain during my attendance at the Salzburg Summer School in Linguistics 1982.

First of all and demanding only passing reference is the reported phenomenon of multiple initial wh-elements in both Greek and Spanish. Such patterns both swell the ranks of languages unaccounted for by single syntactic substitution and bring the issue back to familiar i.e. Indo-European, languages.

Second and more deserving of lengthier comment is a theoretical position proposed in R. May and J. Higginbotham's article Questions, Quantifiers and Crossing (1980). The relevant proposal, enormously simplified, is the following: in the LF of Government Binding Theory there is a process of Q-Absorption whereby several quantifiers (where WH elements are interpreted as quasi-quantifiers binding traces) are combined into a single n-tuply indexed constituent which c-commands and binds other co-indexed constituents within a given structure. In effect, the proposal is that syntactic structure and semantic structure differ, at least, with respect to the following; for syntactic multiple q-forms to be semantically interpretable one assumes that WH-elements appear proposition-initially as operators for binding and inasmuch as these operators appear multiply in initial position semantic and syntactic structures, necessarily, differ. In English, which presumably represents the unmarked instance of syntactic q-formation with its obedience to the constraint of a single wh-element in initial position, syntactic structure and semantic structure are divergent: on the syntactic level one assumes single wh-movement while on the semantic level one will assume multiple WH-movement and subsequent Absorption.

Throughout my discussion of universal question formation I have suggested that the underlying unity between varying syntactic expressions is, possibly, semantic. Now we see that, indeed, a universal semantic structure for question interpretation has been proposed. It is surely striking that the structure assumed for semantic interpretation diverges from the one ordinarily assumed for syntactic structure i.e. the structure of English. Moreover, the former structure closely parallels the formations found in languages considered as counter-exemplary to the usual syntactic predictions based on English. In other words, a language like Hungarian, with problematic multiple wh-elements in its syntax, demonstrates a clear correspondence between surface syntax and, hypothesized, semantic structure. Given this correspondence it is tempting to speculate along the following lines.

Given an assumption of essential similarity for all languages in LF for question interpretation, perhaps, the unmarked expression of this in syntax is that exemplified by a language like Hungarian. In such a language syntactic structure would clearly reflect semantic structure. Evidence for such an assumption might come from investigations pointing to a preponderance of cross-linguistic data suggesting the greater or lesser degree of such parallelism between the organization of these two levels of structure. On such an interpretation, naturally, Hungarian would be the unmarked example of q-formation while English, now, would be highly marked. The question would then arise as to why English syntax diverges so wildly from LF: what properties of English syntax permit or, might even, require such deviation? Are such properties determinative in the organization of other languages?

My final speculation is the following. We have seen that there is some reason to believe that in Hungarian multiple wh-elements behave, semantically, like a single constituent with respect to exhaustive listing. In addition, when wh-elements occur clause-initially no other constituents can be interposed between them suggesting a sort of syntactic fraternity, at least, in clause initial position. Perhaps the notion of Absorption can be extended: for semantic interpretation Q-Absorption is criterial in all languages while at syntactic structure q-Absorption affects those wh-constituents appearing in clause-initial position. On this interpretation q-Absorption i.e. Absorption of wh-elements on the syntactic level, ranges over n-tuple constituents. In other words, the common assumption of a single movement is essentially wrong: Instead q-formation ordinarily operates on n-many constituents and, modulo properties yet to be discovered, certain languages limit the number of n's e.g. English. On such an account, the syntax of English and languages like it would require an explanation while the syntax of Hungarian and languages like it would follow from, perhaps, arguable but simple assumptions, about semantics.

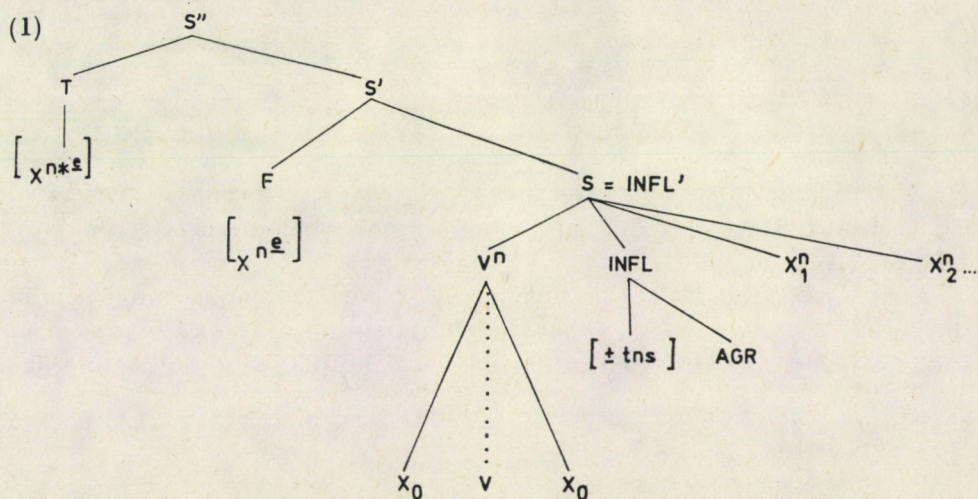
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A CASE OF RE-ANALYSIS IN A "TOPIC-PROMINENT" LANGUAGE*

By
GRÉTE L. DALMI

0. It was shown in Li-Thompson (1976) that it is possible to characterize languages typologically with regard to the prominence of subject in the sentence. It was claimed that there are languages in which the traditional NP-VP analysis fails, and that these languages usually express grammatical relations, such as "subject of" or "object of" in terms of morphology. Thus, the configuration of the elements can express other relations, e.g. communicative function. Hungarian is such a language. We will not concern ourselves with this problem, but refer the reader to É. Kiss (1981a) for further details. We will accept (1) to be the invariant structure of Hungarian sentences, where *T* and *F* are non-argument positions on the periphery of the sentence; the arguments of *V* can be moved into these positions by the rules of Topicalisation and Focussing, respectively. The moved elements are submitted to Trace-theory, i.e. they leave a trace in their original position, when moved. The trace bears the same index as the moved element.



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The *F* position can be occupied by only one argument of *V*, while we can move any number of arguments to *T*. The node INFL (inflection) contains the tense-marker, [\pm tns], and the agreement-marker (AGR). A sentence is marked [$+$ tns] if the verb is finite and [$-$ tns] if it is an infinitive or other non-finite element. AGR contains features like person, number, etc. It is also claimed that AGR assigns nominative case to an argument of *V*. (cf. É. Kiss 1981b for further details). If AGR is not only a case assigner but is also coindexed with the NP to which it assigns case, then it is possible to omit that NP (cf. Chomsky 1981, 253–6):

- (2) [NPe]_i El — men — t(AGR)_i
 [+ nom] off go-past-3sg
 * Has left. 'He/she has left.'

What happens, however, if AGR is prevented from assigning [$+$ nom] case to an argument of *V*? In this case the subject of the sentence can only be PRO, an empty pronoun without a phonetic representation. This is exactly what happens to the subject of the infinitive. Since AGR cannot assign [$+$ nom] case to the subject of the infinitive, it is necessarily PRO (cf. May-Koster 1981 about the necessity of a subject in infinitival clauses).

1. The following base rules will be assumed in the syntax of Hungarian:

- (3) $S'' \rightarrow [{}_T X^n *]$ S' $\text{INFL} \rightarrow [\pm \text{tns}] \text{AGR}$
 $S' \rightarrow [{}_F X^n]$ S
 $S = \text{INFL}'$ $X^n \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N^n \\ \text{Adj}^n \\ \text{Adv}^n \\ S^n \end{array} \right\}$
 $S \rightarrow V^n \text{INFL}$ X_n^*
 $V^n \rightarrow X_O V X_O$

X_O is a position in which the so-called reduced complements are generated (cf. É. Kiss 1981a). They can appear both in preverbal and post-verbal position (cf. 3.1.).

As is clear from (3) it is possible for *V* to have a sentential complement in the position X^n . It is assumed that the Hungarian infinitive is also a member of the category *S* (Dalmi 1981); thus it is possible to analyse a structure like (4) as (5):

- (4) Szeret-ek olvas-ni.
 like -pres-1sg road- to
 'I like reading.'

- (5) [$S'' e[S'e[S Szeret-ek[NPe_i][S''e[S'e[S olvas-ni PRO_i]]]]]]$
 [$+$ nom]

The subject of the infinitival clause is PRO, which is coindexed with the empty subject of the matrix clause. We will see that this is not always so.

1.1. Topicalisation and Focussing are overall rules which apply in [+tns] sentences as well as in infinitival clauses. There seems to be a third rule, however, which we will call V-movement applying primarily in infinitival structures. Consider the following sentences:

- (6) [S''Katij[S'mozi-ba jár-ni_i [SSzeret-Ø[S''e[S't_i[S t_i Pistával PRO_j]]]]]]]
 Kate cinema-to go-to like- pres-3sg Steve-with
 [+ nom]

nem pedig angol-t tanul-ni.

and not English-acc learn-to

'It is going to the cinema that Kate likes doing with Steve and not learning English.'

- (7) [S''Mozi-ba jár-ni_i[S'e[SSzeret-Ø[NPe_j][S''t_i[S'e[S t_i PRO_j]]]]]]]
 cinema-to go-to like-pres [+nom]
 3sg

de angol-t tanul-ni nem.

but English-acc learn-to not

'He/she likes going to the cinema but he/she does not like learning English.'

Unlike the *V* of tensed *S_s*, the *V* of *S_{inf}* can move out of its clause cyclically, to the matrix *T* and *F* positions. This movement is clearly a case of "Move α " and the moved element always lands in an \bar{A} -position. There is further motivation for assuming V-movement. Consider the following sentence:

- (8) [S''Tisztel-ni[S'e[Stisztel -em[NPe] őt]]]
 respect-to respect-pres[+nom]he/she-acc
 1sg

de szeret-ni nem szeret-em [NPe] [NPe]

but like-to not like-pres [+nom][+acc]

1sg

'Respect him/her I do, but like him/her I do not.'

The English equivalent of (8) can be obtained by the rule of VP-Preposing (Emonds 1976). In Hungarian the same content is expressed by another syntactic operation, Copying-of-V-to-T (cf. Szabolcsi 1981). Since the agent

- (e) [S''Katoná- nak Ø [S'katona [S lesz[NPe]]]]
 soldier-dat soldier-nom be-[+nom]
 future-3sg

'Be a soldier he will.'

On the basis of (10)(a), (b) and (c) we can assume that the copula *lenni* 'be' is deleted in (d) and (e). It is not clear at the moment why the predicative NP and Adj must get a[+dat] case when copied into *T* (cf. Szabolcsi 1981). It is equally unclear whether Copying takes place before the reduced complement is obligatorily focussed, or after it. Despite these unanswered questions we hope to have indicated that it is V^n that is involved in these operations and not merely V . What relates Copying-of-V-to-T and V-movement to each other is the fact that the V lands in a *n o n - a r g u m e n t p o s i t i o n* in both cases.

We will establish the following classes of infinitival structures in Hungarian:

- (10) Mari_i nem akar-Ø [S olvas-ni PRO_i].
 Mary-nom not want-pres read-to
 3sg

'Mary does not want to read.'

- (11) Pista küld- te őt_i [S vadász- ni PRO_i].
 Steve send-past he/she-acc hunt-to
 3sg

'Steve sent him/her to hunt.'

- (12) Mari lát- ta őt_i[stáncol-ni t_i].
 ↑
 Mary-nom see-past he/she-acc dance-to
 3sg

'Mary saw him/her dance.'

- (13) Látsz-ott a hajó_i [közeled- ni t_i].
 ↑
 seem-past the ship approach-to
 3sg [+nom]

'The ship seemed to approach.'

- (14) (a) Nehéz volt Pistá_i-nak [énekel- ni -e PRO_i].
 difficult be Steve-dat sing-to-AGR-3sg
 past-3sg

'It was difficult for Steve to sing.'

(b) Kell Pistá_i-nak [haza men- ni -e t_i].

must Steve-dat home- go-to-AGR-3sg

'Steve must go home.'

The basic difference between (11) and (12) is that in (11) the [+acc.]NP position is filled in the base, whereas in (12) it is filled by moving an argument of the embedded *V* into it. This movement is possible because the [+acc.]NP position does not have a \emptyset -role, only case. Evidence for this can be taken from tensed embedded sentences (cf. Appendix).

2. Our basic concern in the rest of the paper will be the class exemplified in (14). There are two reasons for this: first, that this is the only class in present day Hungarian where the infinitival verb has preserved its agreement-marker; second, that the matrix verbs in this structure all subcategorize for a [+dat]NP complement beside the infinitival S. (It will be shown in 2.1. that this is due to the semantic properties of these verbs.) The two reasons are not completely independent of each other.

There is an alternative concept in connection with this class of infinitival structures (cf. É. Kiss 1981b) according to which the infinitive in (14) is not an S but an NP which has the [+dat]NP in its domain. The basis of this concept seems to be the superficial identity of the dative suffix *-nak/nek* in the infinitival structure and that of the possessive construction (the dative suffix appears on the possessor if it is moved into a non-argument position called KOMP; otherwise it is in the nominative; c.f. Szabolcsi 1982):

(15) Sikerül- t Péter- nek találko-z-ni-a Mari-val.
succeed-past Peter-dat meet-to-AGR-3sg Mary-with
3sg
'Peter succeeded in meeting Mary.'

(16) Sikerül-t [NP[KOMP Péter- nek a t_i találkozás-a M-val]
succeed-past Peter-dat the meeting
3sg
'Peter's meeting Mary succeeded.'

We will show in 2.2. that the matrix verbs that appear in the Dative + infinitive structure have always had a [+dat]NP in their argument structure, thus these NPs cannot be in the domain of the infinitive. Besides, historical facts show (Károly, 1956) that the various types of infinitival structures all

developed alike, e.g. they all had an agreement-marker (cf. 2.3.). This shows that there is no reason to separate the Dative + infinitive class from the other types of infinitival structures.

In case we assume that the analogy between (15) and (16) is due to the fact that the infinitive is the member of the category *NP*, we would expect that the infinitival structure also has an alternative with the [+nom]*NP*:

- (17) (a) Sikerül- t_{[NP}Péter találkozás-a Mari-val]
succeed-past 3sg Peter-nom meeting-AGR-3sg Mary-with
'Peter's meeting Mary succeeded.'

- (b) Sikerül-t [NP<sub>Péter_i-nek a t_i találkozás-a Mari-val]
succeed-past 3sg Peter-dat the meeting-AGR-3sg Mary-with
'Peter's meeting Mary succeeded.'</sub>

- (18) (a) * Sikerül-t Péter találkoz-ni -a Mari -val
succeed-past 3sg Peter-nom meet-to-AGR-3-sg Mary-with
'Peter succeeded in meeting Mary.'

- (b) Sikerül-t Péter-nek találkoz-ni- a Mari-val
succeed-past 3sg Peter-dat meet-to-AGR-3sg Mary-with
'Peter succeeded in meeting Mary.'

The ungrammaticality of (18a) shows that AGR in the infinitive is unable to assign case to its subject, whereas AGR in the verbal noun in (17) can. This is the reason why the subject of the infinitive is either PRO, or it is moved by some or another device into the domain of the matrix verb.¹

As Szabolcsi (1982) has pointed out, the [+dat]*NP* in the possessive construction is derived by movement from the [+nom]*NP*, the possessor. This movement is motivated historically as well, because the possessive construction with the dative suffix on the possessor is only a later development (cf. Szabolcsi, for further details). It is just the contrary with infinitival structures. As will be shown in 2.1. the [+dat]*NP* has always existed in the argument structure of the matrix verbs (most of them being impersonal), and originally this *NP* expressed the beneficiary of the action. The agent interpretation became possible only when the personal variant of these imper-

¹ The term "by some or another device" refers to "exceptional case marking" in the case of the *believe*-class as well as to the solution by Kayne (manuscript) where he moves the subject of the infinitive to the COMP position where it is "available" for the matrix verb assigning case. The basic idea of our solution is the same: the argument of the embedded *S*_{inf} having no case must be moved in order to be "available" for the matrix verb assigning case. In our proposal this is carried out by moving the argument into the empty *NP* position of the referring pronoun.

Hoping to have shown that the NP-analysis is not very profitable, we will stick to the S-analysis described in May-Koster (1981).

As was indicated in (14a) and (b), the class of verbs taking a [+dat]NP + infinitive complement is not homogeneous. In some cases the dative expresses the beneficiary of the action, while in other cases the agent of the embedded infinitival clause is expressed by it. In the former case we will assume that the [+dat]NP position is occupied already in the base. In the latter, the [+dat]NP position is filled by moving the subject of the embedded infinitival S into it. We will make this statement more explicit in 2.2., but before doing so let us make a little digression.

2.1. Impersonal verbs

It is rather uncommon for infinitival structures to have a [+dat]NP complement. As a starting point, it is worth investigating the impersonal verb in Middle English, because there are interesting conclusions there to be drawn. As Lightfoot (1979) has pointed out, impersonal verbs in Middle English were usually accompanied by an unstressed, preverbal objective or dative NP:

- (20) Me thursteth.
'I am thirsty.'

These impersonal verbs could subcategorise also for a *that*-clause or an infinitive (which was an NP at that time):

- (21) (a) me thynketh I heare
'I think that I hear.'

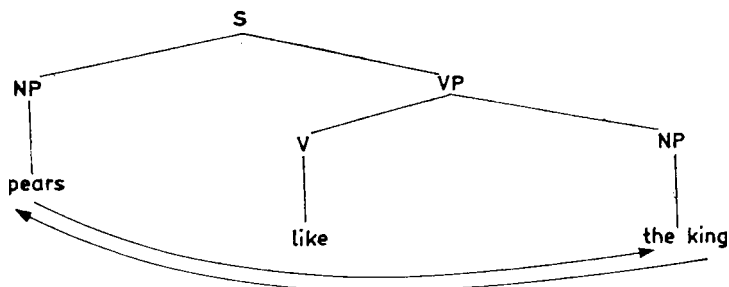
(b) hym happened to be hurte with any arow. . .
'An arrow happened to hurt him.'

Around the 16th century, however, there was a re-analysis, which affected impersonal verbs as well. The word order in Middle English became a fixed SVO, due to the levelling of endings. As a consequence of this, the unstressed, preverbal NP could no longer be interpreted as the beneficiary of the action: it was re-analysed as the subject. This change is illustrated in (22):

- (22) (a) tham cyng licodon peran
(b) the king liceden peares
(c) the king liked pears

In (22a) *peran* is unambiguously the subject and the verb is therefore in the plural. The loss of inflections on nouns and verbs made (22c) ambiguous, because it could be both interpreted as OVS and SVO, as is indicated in (23):

(23)



In order to make the structure transparent again, the re-analysis took place.

Let us return now to Hungarian, where such a re-analysis did not take place. We know that in Hungarian the word order is not fixed, or at least not in the way English is. That is, grammatical relations can be expressed independently of word order, merely by affixation.

- (24) A király-nak tetsz-e-nek a körté-k.
 the king- dat like- impers-pres-3pl the pear- s.
 'The king likes pears.'

The impersonal structures in Hungarian resemble those in the Middle English period, the members of the impersonal class, of course, being different. As in English, impersonal verbs in Hungarian are used only in the 3rd person singular when followed by a sentential complement:

- (25) (a) Fiú-k- nak nem illik-Ø [szoknyá-t horda-ni- uk].
 boy-s- dat not be appropriate skirt- acc wear- to-AGR-3pl
 pres-3sg
 'It is not appropriate for boys to wear a skirt.'
- (b) Az nem illik-Ø, [hogy fiú-k szoknyá-t hord-j-anak].
 it not be appropriate that boy-s skirt- acc wear-subj-3pl
 nom pres-3sg nom
 'It is not appropriate for boys to wear a skirt.'

Thus, impersonal verbs are positively the members of the "Dative + infinitive" class. Predicative adjectives and nouns, which are impersonal by their very nature, also go into it. The third subgroup will

be the possessive expressions, where originally the infinitive was understood possessor. Here is a list of the phrases belonging to the Dative+infinitive class:

- (26) (a) *kell* 'must', *lehet* 'can', *szabad* 'may', *illik* 'be appropriate', *akaródnzik* 'have a desire to', *tetszik* 'be so good as to', *tessék* 'be so good as to, imperative mood', *fáj* 'it hurts', *sokba kerül* 'it costs a lot to', *jól/rosszul esik* 'it is a good/bad feeling to', *van mit, kit, miért* etc. 'there is something, someone, a reason, etc. to', *nincs mit, kit, miért* 'there is nothing, noone, no reason etc. to', *van oka, joga, ideje*, etc. 'he has a reason, the right, time, etc. to', *nincs oka, joga, ideje*, etc. 'he has no reason, right, time, etc.', *jó/rossz lesz* 'it will be good/bad to', etc.
- (b) *lehetséges* 'possible', *lehetetlen* 'impossible', *tilos* 'forbidden', *szabad* 'allowed', *felesleges* 'superfluous', *kár* 'needless', *szükséges* 'necessary', *szükségtelen* 'unnecessary', *helyes* 'correct', *helytelen* 'incorrect', *elégendő* 'sufficient', *elég* 'enough', *könnyű* 'easy', *nehéz* 'difficult', *jó* 'good', *rossz* 'bad', *fontos* 'important', *kötelező* 'obligatory', *tanácsos* 'advisable', *érdemes* 'worth', *korai* 'it is early to', *késő* 'it is late to', *őrültség* 'it is a crazy thing to', *bölcs dolog* 'it is a wise thing to', *könynyelműség* 'it is a folly to', *felelőtlenség* 'it is an irresponsible thing to', *luxus* 'it is a luxury to', etc.
- (c) (*itt az*) *ideje* 'it is time to', *mi haszna* 'what use is it to', *mi értelme* 'what sense is there in', *van/nincs értelme* 'there is/there is no sense in', etc.

This grouping, of course does not provide us with an explanation of the problem of filling the [+dat]NP position. The answer must be looked for in the semantic properties of these phrases:

If we replace the infinitival clause by a *that*-clause, we will arrive at a very surprising fact: although the substitution is possible in most cases, the meaning of the *that*-clause will not always be the same as that of the infinitival clause:

- (27) (a) Péter-nek kell meg-hal-ni-a.
 Peter-dat must-pres up-die-to-AGR-3sg
 3sg
 'Peter must die.'
- (b) Péter-nek kell az, hogy (ő) meghal-j-on.
 Peter-dat need it-nom that he up-die-subj-3sg
 'It is necessary for Peter that he should die.'

(27a) obviously does not mean that Peter wishes to die, or that he thinks it necessary for himself. (27b), however, does convey such a meaning. Thus (27a—b) do not express the same thing. If we want to express the meaning conveyed by the infinitival structure in (27a), the [+dat]NP must not be filled at all:

- (28) [NPe] Kell (az) hogy Péter meg-hal-j-on
 [+dat] necessary it-nom that Peter-nom up-die-subj-3sg
 'It is necessary that Peter should die.'

The difference between (27b) and (28) can be best shown when the NPs in question are in the *F* position of the matrix clause:

- (29) (a) [S''e[S'Péter-inek[skell [NPe] az [S hogy ő_i meg-hal-j-on]]]]
 [+dat]
 Peter-dat be necessary it-nom that he up-die-subj-3sg
 pres-3sg
 'It is Peter for whom it is necessary that he should die.'
- (b) [S''e[S'Péter_i[S kell [NPe][NPT_i][S hogy meg-hal-j-on t_i]]]]
 Peter-nom must [+dat][+nom] that up-die-subj-3sg
 'It is Peter who must die.'

In (29a) the [+dat]NP expresses the beneficiary of the action. In (29b) the [+nom]NP is the agent of the action.

As regards *that*-clauses, it is almost always possible to find contexts where the two different structures with the [+dat]NP and the [+nom]NP can be used. This does not hold for infinitivals. We have a more complicated case here, because structurally only the dative case is possible. This dative case stands for two "deep cases": beneficiary and agent. The phrases in this group may differ according to the semantic role of the [+dat]NP: with some phrases only the beneficiary interpretation is possible, with others only the agent interpretation. There is a limited number of phrases where both interpretations are possible. In the latter case it is up to the speaker's intention which interpretation is chosen.

- (30) (A) Only the beneficiary interpretation is possible: *sikerül* 'manage to', *illik* 'be appropriate to', *akarózik* 'have a desire to', *jól/rosszul esik* 'it is a good/bad feeling to', *van mit.* . . etc. 'he has something. . . etc. to', *nincs mit.* . . etc. 'he has nothing. . . etc. to', *tetszik* 'be so good as to', *van oka, joga*, etc. 'he has a reason, the right, etc.', *nincs oka, joga*, etc. 'he has no reason, right, etc.', *könnyű* 'easy', *nehéz* 'difficult', *jó* 'good', *rossz* 'bad', *érdemes* 'worth'.

(B) Only the agent interpretation is possible: *kell* 'must', *szabad* 'may', *lehet* 'may', *kár* 'needless', *felesleges* 'superfluous', *szükséges* 'necessary', *szükségtelen* 'unnecessary', *helyes* 'correct', *helytelen* 'incorrect', *elegendő* 'sufficient', *elég* 'enough', *korai* 'it is early to', *késő* 'it is late to', *őrültség* 'it is a crazy thing to', *bölcs dolog* 'it is a wise thing to', *felelőtlenség* 'it is an irresponsible thing to', *luxus* 'it is luxury to', *ideje* 'it is time to', *mi haszna* 'what use is it to', *mi értelme* 'what sense is there in', *van/nincs értelme* 'there is/there is no sense in'.

(C) Both interpretations are possible: *fontos* 'important', *kötelező* 'obligatory', *tanácsos* 'advisable', *tilos* 'forbidden', *lehetséges* 'possible', *lehetetlen* 'impossible'.

The phrases in group *B* differ from those in group *A* not only in the semantic role of the [+dat]NP but also that of the phrases themselves: those in group *B* all express the attitude, viewpoint or judgement of the speaker. Therefore we will refer to group *B* as judgement-oriented phrases. Such an interpretation is impossible in group *A*, where the [+dat]NP is the beneficiary of the action. These phrases always express a fact, not an attitude. We will refer to group *A* as fact-oriented phrases. Here the [+dat]NP belongs to the matrix phrase. In group *B*, however, it is the subject of the embedded infinitival clause that occupies the [+dat]NP position. This is why the role of "agent" is preserved in it.

The subcategorisation frame of the Dative+infinitive group is shown in (31):

$$(31) \quad V \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{lll} \text{NP} & \text{NP} & \text{S} \\ [+dat] & \text{---} & [+nom] \text{---} [+tns] \\ +\theta & & -\theta \\ \\ \text{NP} & & \text{S} \\ [+dat] & \text{---} & [-tns] \\ +\theta & & \\ \\ \text{NP} & & \text{S} \\ [+dat] & & [-tns] \\ -\theta & & \end{array} \right\}$$

2.2. Re-analysis

Some phrases can also subcategorise for a [+nom]NP besides the [+dat]NP.³ In this case both NPs have a θ -role:

³ This usage of *kell* 'must' differs from the case when it takes a sentential complement in that it does not have any modal character.

- (b) (én) el kell-ek men-ni
 I-nom off must go-to-Ø
 pres-1sg
- (c) (én) el kell men-j-ek
 I-nom off must go-subj-1sg
 pres-3sg

In (35a) the [+nom]NP does not agree in person and number with the verb. When it does, as in (35b), the AGR-marker disappears. In (45c) we have a *that*-clause, in which the complementizer *hogy* 'that' is omitted. All of these structures are existing forms, used mostly in the Transylvanian dialect. Simonyi (1890) notes that these verbs started to lose their impersonal character when they were first used with a preverbal [+nom]NP. (Note that "literary" language has [+dat]NP here.) Of course, the original impersonal construction was used alongside the later personal one, though infinitival constructions were impersonal by their origin. This re-analysis had its effect on infinitival structures: the personal usage, i.e. the preverbal [+nom]NP, gave rise to two different readings: the fact-oriented and the judgement-oriented reading. That is to say, the structural re-analysis from impersonal to personal triggered a semantic change as well. It is easy to show the difference in the case of *tha*-clauses, because the preverbal NP is either in the dative or in the nominative cf. (29a). In the case of infinitival sentences, however, structurally on y the [+dat]NP can appear (cf. **Pista kell el-men-ni-e*). Therefore, the two readings must be differentiated as was shown before: if the [+dat]NP position has a θ -role, it is filled in the base, and the fact-oriented reading is obtained; we get the judgement-oriented reading if the subject of the embedded S_{inf} is moved into the [+dat]NP position, which, in this case does not have a θ -role in the lexicon.

Thus we have shown how the successive structural re-analyses starting out from the category change of the infinitive caused radical changes in the semantic component as well, by developing two different readings for an originally homogeneous structure. We have one more question left open, and this is the problem of AGR.

2.3. AGR and the Hungarian infinitives

As was mentioned before, the AGR-marker was originally obligatory with infinitives if the agent of the action was not expressed lexically. It was, of course, possible to use the infinitive without the AGR-marker if there was a lexical dative NP that could be interpreted as the agent:

- (36) (a) A szülő -k-nek el kell men-ni-ük.
 the parent-s-dat off must go-to-AGR-3pl
 pres-3sg
 'Parents must leave.'

- (b) A szülő -k-nek el kell men-ni-Ø,
 the parent-s-dat off must go-to-Ø
 pres-3sg
 'Parents must leave.'

- (c) [NP_e] El kell men-ni-ük.
 [+nom] off must go-to-AGR-3pl
 pres-3sg
 'They must leave.'

The ARG-marker, which was used with every class of infinitival structures, was lost around the 16th century almost everywhere, with the exception of the "Dative+infinitive" class. The first question that arises here is why this class has preserved the AGR-marker and why the others have lost it. The second is whether the AGR-marker is exactly the same here as in other languages or not.

(i) A possible answer to the first question may be that the infinitive had changed its category from NP to VP. Originally, when the infinitive was an NP it could normally take a possessive suffix. As soon as it had become a VP, the suffix lost its original function and became simply an AGR-marker used only for denoting agreement. This may be the reason why there was hesitation between the suffixed and the suffix-less infinitive, until the suffix finally disappeared in most classes. It had to survive in the Dative+Infinitive class because usual subject-verb control was impossible here.

(ii) With this we are coming closer to the second problem: has the AGR-marker in Hungarian the same properties as in other languages or not? We will investigate the status of AGR only in embedded infinitival clauses. Perhaps it is not absolutely superfluous to mention that Hungarian is not the only language where such an AGR-marker exists. Other Finno-Ugric languages like Mansi and Komi also have it (cf. Simonyi 1925). Therefore we can claim that AGR in Hungarian is not the influence of some Indo-European language. This is very important to note, because similar phenomena have been described by Zubizarreta (1981) in Portuguese:

- (37) O João acredita ter- em eles gasto esse dinheiro.
 'John believes -have-AGR-3pl they-nom - spent the money.'

As is clear from (37), the AGR-marker is able to assign [+nom] case to the subject of the infinitive. This is impossible in Hungarian. It is never the AGR-marker of the infinitival clause that assigns case to the subject of the infinitive, for in that case it would necessarily assign [+nom] case. There is no infinitival structure in Hungarian that would be similar to (38):

- (38) Era importante [seles sair- em]
was important they-nom leave-AGR-3pl
'It was important for them to leave.'
- (39) *Fontos volt [S ök el-men-ni-ük]
important was they-nom off-go -to-AGR-3pl
'It was important for them to leave.'

It is equally impossible to assume that the matrix *V* “exceptionally” assigns case to the subject of the infinitive:

- (40) *Fontos volt[NP_e][S nekik el -men-ni-ük]
 important was [+dat] they+dat off-go -to-AGR-3pl
 'It was important for them to leave.'

It is clear from historical facts that these phrases have always had a lexical [+dat]NP in their subcategorisation frame since the time when the infinitive was an NP. Thus the [+dat] NP cannot be in the domain of the infinitive. Therefore it is much more probable that it is the subject of the infinitive that moves into the [+dat]NP position of the matrix clause in the case of judgement-oriented phrases, and not the other way around. With fact-oriented phrases the subject of the infinitive is PRO.

Today AGR is possible only with the “Dative+infinitive” class and it is optional even there (cf. e.g. sentences in (36)). If there is no lexical NP in the [+dat]NP position, AGR is obligatory. If we omit the AGR-marker in this case, the sentence will have a generic meaning, and the [+dat]NP position will have arbitrary reference:

- (41) (a) [NPe]_i Nehéz \emptyset borotválkoz-ni-a PRO_i.
[+dat] difficult- \emptyset shave-to -AGR-3sg
'It is difficult for him to shave.'
(b) [NPe]_{arb} Nehéz \emptyset borotválkoz- ni- \emptyset PRO_{arb}.
[+dat] difficult- \emptyset shave-to- \emptyset
'It is difficult to shave.'

We can conclude that the AGR-marker of the infinitival clause in Hungarian is something different from what is understood as AGR in the GB-theory. We can say that at some time it must have been a possessive suffix of NP_{inf}, and after the re-analysis it was preserved as a formal ending which marks co-reference. This is shown by the fact that it is optional in present-day Hungarian and that it does not assign case.

3. Some residual problems

3.1. It was shown in É. Kiss (1981a) that the reduced complements usually occupy the *F* position in the sentence.

- (42) [S''János[S' el[S mond-ta a lényeg-et Pistá-nak]]].
 John-nom off tell-past the essence Steve-dat
 3sg
 'John told Steve the essence.'

If there is another F-expectant in the sentence, the CONVERB and the other reduced complements appear immediately after the verb:

- (43) [P''János[S, csak a lényeg-et[S mond-ta el Pistá-nak]]].
 John-nom only the essence-acc tell off Steve-dat
 'It was only the essence that John told Steve.'

There are two cases when the CONVERB and the other reduced complements behave "exceptionally", i.e. they precede the verb although they are expected to follow it: a. Focussing in the embedded S_{inf} and b. Movement of a complement from the embedded S to the *F* position of the matrix S (it is irrelevant in this case whether the movement was F-to-F or Sentence-intertwining). Since in both cases the *F* position is involved, the explanation must be connected with it. Consider:

- (44) (a) *János_i-nak sikerül-t[S''e[S' csak a lényege-t [Smonda-ni-a
 John-dat succeed-past only the essence-acc tell-to-AGR-3sg
 el PRO_i]]]. 3sg
 off
 'John succeeded in talking only about the essence.'
- (b) János_i-nak sikerül-t[S''e[S, csak a lényeg-et [Sel-mond-a-ni-a
 John-dat succeed-past-3sg only the essence-acc off-tell -to-AGR
 PRO_i]]] 3sg
 'John succeeded in talking only about the essence.'

The other reduced complements also behave like this: the sentence sounds better if they appear on the left of *V* despite the fact that the *F* position is filled:

- (45) (a) *Péter_i-nek nem sikerül -t[s''e[s' a mozi -ban[sven-ni
Peter-dat not manage-past-3sg the cinema-in buy-to
jegye-k-et PRO_i]]]
ticket-s-acc
'Peter did not manage to buy tickets at the cinema.'
- (b) Péter_i-nek nem sikerül-t[s''e[s' a mozi-ban[sjegye-k-et ven-ni
Peter-dat not manage-past-3sg the cinema-in ticket-s-acc buy-to
PRO_i]]]
'Peter did not manage to buy tickets at the cinema.'
- (46) (a) *Péter_i-Ø nem szeret-Ø[s''e[s'sötét-ben[smen-ni haza PRO_i]]]
Peter-nom not like-pres-3sg dark-in go -to home
'Peter does not like going home in the dark.'
- (b) Péter-Ø nem szeret-Ø[s,,e[s,sötét-ben[s'haza men-ni PRO_t]]]
Peter-nom not like-pres-3sg dark-in home go-to
'Peter does not like going home in the dark.'
- (47) (a) *Péter_i-Ø szeret-ne[s''e[s'jövőre [s len-ni katona PRO_i]]]
Peter-nom like -pres. next year be-to soldier-nom
cond.-3sg
'Peter would like to be a soldier next year.'
- (b) Péter_i-Ø szeret-ne[s''e[s'jövőre [s katona len-ni PRO_i]]]
Peter-nom like-pres-cond-3sg next year soldier be-to
'Peter would like to be a soldier next year.'

If we assume that the node X_0 is the sister node of the other complements, $X_1 \dots X_n$, as is shown in É. Kiss (1981a), we cannot explain the sentences in (44–47). That is, in that case the X_0 could not appear on the left of V once the F position has been occupied.

The other problem has already been mentioned in Kenesei (1981). He notices that the reduced complements can appear on the left of the embedded V even though another complement of V has already occupied the matrix F position:

- (48) [s''János[s' Mari-val_i[sszeret-né[s'hogy[s'', ez-t a
John-nom Mary-with like-press that this-acc the
film-et_j[s't_i [s meg néz-zék t_i t_j]]]]]]]
film-acc up see-subj-3pl
'It is Mary with whom John would like to see this film.'

- (52) (a) *Nem akar- om [\bar{S} '' hogy[S ''e[S ''e[S men-j el]]]].
 not want-pres-1sg that go-subj-2sg off
 'I do not want you to leave.'

- (b) Nem akar-om [\bar{S} '' hogy[S ''e[S , el [S men- j]]]].
 not want-pres-1sg that off go-subj-2sg
 'I do not want you to leave.'

3.2. Multiple embedding

Consider the following sentences:

- (53) Nem akar- jutk őt [zongoráz- ni] [hall-a- ni].
 not want-pres-1pl he/she-acc play-to the piano hear-to
 'We do not want to hear him/her play the piano.'

- (54) János-t végre sikerül-t [grimasz-ok-at vág-ni][lát-ni].
 John-acc at last manage face-s-acc make-to see-to
 past-3sg
 'At last John could be seen making faces.'

- (53) (a) [S ''e[S ''[Zongoráz-ni] [hall-a-ni] [nem][S akar-juk őt]]].
 play-to the piano hear-to not want-pres he/she-acc
 1pl.
 'It is his/her playing the piano that we do not want to hear.'

- (54) (a) [S ''János-t végre [S ''[grimasz-ok-at vág-ni] [lát-ni][S sikerül-t]]].
 John-acc at last face-s-acc make-to see-to manage-past
 3sg
 'It is John's making faces that could be seen at last.'

It is interesting that, although the F' position can normally admit only one maximal major category, in (53) and (54) we find an S_{inf} embedded into another S_{inf} in the matrix F' position. These sentences are extremely rare in Hungarian, and they sound relatively good if one of the infinitival clauses contains a verb of perception. Perhaps with these verbs the original adverbial usage is somewhat stronger than in the other cases and here the infinitive behaves as an adverbial of the other infinitive. There are other set phrases where the adverbial usage is more obvious (Simonyi 1890):

- (55) Pista bevásárol- ni men -t.
 Steve shop-to go-past-3sg
 'Steve went shopping.'

- (56) Ez az alma nem en- ni van.
 this the apple not eat-to is.
 'This apple is not for eating.'

4. Conclusion

On the basis of our investigation of the "Dative+infinitive" class the following generalisations can be made:

(i) This construction originated in impersonal verbs and phrases, which usually had a preverbal, unstressed dative NP complement. They could take another NP which could also be an NP_{inf}. NP_{inf} had a possessive suffix which agreed in person and number with the [+dat]NP. This suffix later changed to AGR.

(ii) Similar constructions in English were either lost or became personal after the word order had become a fixed SVO.

(iii) The facts in (i) and (ii) must be closely connected with the "topic-prominence" of Hungarian and the "subject-prominence" of English, or, in other terminology, with the parameter [\pm configurational]. We will risk the following hypothesis: languages tending to be non-configurational are likely to have impersonal constructions (cf. Russian), and languages tending to be configurational have none or only a limited number of impersonal constructions (cf. Italian). In order to prove this hypothesis further typological investigations will be required.

Appendix: Sentence-intertwining

The phenomenon to be investigated is usually referred to as Sentence-intertwining regardless of what is actually moved out of the embedded S. (Zolnay 1926; Kenesei 1981; É. Kiss 1981a.) Our assumption is that there is more than one phenomenon identified under this term. We will suggest first of all differentiating between them.

Most of the sentences under examination can be described by standard cyclic movement rules which we will call *T-to-T* and *F-to-F* because of their similarity to COMP-to-COMP:

- (1) *T-to-T*
 [s' János-sal_i[s'e nem[sakar-ta Pista,[s'hogy[s't_i[s'

 John-with not want-past Steve-nom that
 e[sbeszél-jen M.t_i]]]]]]] 3sg

 talk-sub- M.

 junctive-3sg
 'As for John, Steve did not want M. to talk to him.'

(2) *F-to-F*

[s''e[s' János-sal_i nem[sakar-ta Pista[s̄''e[s' t_i

John-with not want-past Steve-nom that
[sbeszél-jen M. t_i]]]]]] 3sg

talk-subj. M-nom
3sg

'It was John that Steve did not want M. to talk to.'

As is shown in (1—2) the argument is first moved into the *T* or *F* position of the embedded clause by the rule of Topicalisation or Focussing, then a cyclic movement takes place.⁴ There is a subset of sentences, however, which does not fit into either of the structures given in (1—2). In this case the subject or the object of the embedded *S* is moved into the matrix *T* or *F* position, and at the same time it acquires the case of the referring pronoun in the matrix sentence:⁵

- (3) (a) Nem akar-ták (ők) (az-t), hogy János el-jöj -jön.
not want-past they-nom it-acc that John-nom off-come-subj.-3sg
3pl

'They did not want John to come.'

⁴ The [+acc] case is always inherited if the argument lands in the matrix *F* position. This is not necessarily so if it lands in the matrix *T* position. Compare:

[s''János_i-t [s'e [slát-ta Pista [NP_it_i][s̄''e[s'e [sjön [NP_it_i]]]]]]]]]

John-acc see-past Steve [+acc] that come [+nom]
3sg nom pres-3sg

'As for John, Steve saw that he was coming.'

*[s''János_i-t[s'e nem [shisz-em [PN t_i][s̄''e[s'e [sjön [PN_it_i]]]]]]]]]

John-acc not believe-pres [+acc] that come [+nom]
1sg pres-3sg

'I do not believe that John will come.'

⁵ I have no real explanation at hand why exactly the subject and the object are involved in these operations. It is worth mentioning, however, that in the case of the *believe*-class and the so-called *easy-to-please* class in English it is also the subject and the object that cannot get a case:

John believed [s Bill to have left].
[+acc]
subject

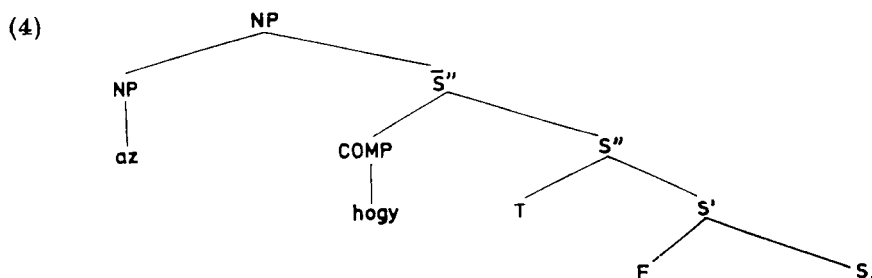
John_i is easy [s PRO to please t_i].
object

In the first case exceptional case-marking applies, in the second case the object moves into the matrix subject position.

- (b) [S''János_i-t[S'e nem[sakar-ták[NPe[NPti[\bar{S} '' hogy[S''e[S,
 |
 John-acc not want-past[+nom][+acc] that
 e[sel-jöj-jön. . .[NPti] 3pl
 |
 off come [+nom]
 subj.3
 'As for John, they did not want him to come.'
- (c) [S''e[S'János_i-t nem[sakar-ták[NPe[NPti[\bar{S} '' hogy[S''e[S'
 |
 John-acc not want-past[+nom][+acc] that
 e[sel-jöj-jön[NPti] 3pl
 |
 off come-subj-3[+nom]
 'It was John that they did not want to come.'

The referring pronoun has always been a problem for the analysis of these sentences because under certain conditions it can be omitted (cf. Kenesei 1981; É. Kiss 1981a for further details).

Kenesei (1981) argues that the referring pronoun and the embedded *S* form one constituent, and he assumes the following structure for them:



The head of the NP can be both lexical or empty. Kenesei (personal communication) assumes that \bar{S} '' is a bounding node for Subjacency.

Another solution proposed by É. Kiss (1981a) introduces an element called *pro* in the matrix clause, where the referring pronoun *az* can appear, or, through which the arguments of the embedded *S* can be moved. As the author also admits, this solution becomes problematic if we want to move more than one element through this single *pro* position, because Trace-theory will be violated. I don't like these solutions because they fail to distinguish the case when the moved element acquires the case of the referring pronoun from the cases when it does not. I will suggest calling only the type in (3). Sentence-

It seems reasonable to assume that in this case the subject and the object of the embedded S moves through the NP position of the referring pronoun. This is only possible, if this NP position does not have a Θ -role, only case, as is the case with its English counterpart, *it*. The referring pronoun may or may not appear in its slot. Sentence-intertwining Proper takes place only if the referring pronoun does not appear. Thus movement into this position is not blocked by the Θ -criterion (Chomsky 1981, 36).

To sum up, I assume that in the case of Sentence-intertwining Proper the argument is first moved right up to the empty NP position in the matrix clause, and then either Topicalisation or Focussing applies obligatorily. The first movement, as it is, violates the Propositional Island Constraint (PIC) which blocks movement of any element out of an embedded tensed *S*.⁶ The subject and the object of the embedded clause can move through the empty NP position of the referring pronoun without any obstacle if this NP position has [+acc] case, because the result will be a [+acc]NP in both cases:

- ⁶ It was pointed out to me by Jan Koster that it is possible to avoid PIC-violation by moving the argument through the embedded COMP position, similarly to Kayne's (1984) proposal. The consequences of this step require further consideration, however.

- (6) János_i-t akar-ta Pista [_{NPT_i}] hogy Mari meg-látog-as-sa [_{NPT_i}]
 |—————|
 John-acc want-past Steve +acc that Mary up-visit-subj. [+acc]
 3 sg [+nom] [+nom] 3sg
 'Steve wanted Mary to visit John.'

If the matrix verb has a [+nom] referring pronoun in its argument-structure, then, of course, only the subject can move through this position:

- (7) János_i kell [_{NPT_i}] hogy jön-jön [_{NPT_i}].
 |—————|
 John-nom must [+nom] that come-subj.[+nom]
 3sg
 'John must come.'

The object does not move through the empty NP position because it does not inherit the [+nom.] case:

- (8) János_i-t kell [_{NPE}] hogy meg-látog-as-sa Mari [_{NPT_i}].
 John-acc must [+nom] that up visit-subj. Mary-[+acc]
 3sg nom
 'Mary must visit John.'

As we can see in (5–8) there is a subject object asymmetry in the case of Sentence-intertwining Proper: the embedded [+nom]NP inherits the [+acc] case of the referring pronoun, but the embedded [+acc]NP does not inherit the [+nom] case of the referring pronoun. I will leave this problem unsolved in the present paper. Yet there is a further question that needs to be answered: can we really be sure that it is the matrix verb that assigns case to the embedded object, when it is moved? There is evidence in favour of the positive answer.

The verb in Hungarian is able to agree with its object as regards definiteness-indefiniteness:

- (9) (a) Ő egy könyv-e-t olvas-o-tt.
 he/she indef. art. book-acc read-past-3sg-indef
 'He/she was reading a book.'
- (b) Ő a könyv-e-t olvas- ta.
 he/she def.art. book-acc. read-past-3sg-def.
 'He /she was reading the book.'

If the object of the embedded *S* really occupies the empty NP position some time during the derivation, then the matrix verb will agree with this moved NP:

- (10) (a) Mond-ta, hogy vesz- \emptyset egy könyv-et.
 say-past that buy-pres indef book-acc
 3sg-def. 3sg-indef. art.
 'He/she said that he/she would buy a book.'
- (b) *Egy könyv-et mond-ta hogy vesz- \emptyset .
 indef. book-acc say-past that buy-pres-3sg-indef.
 art. 3sg-def.
 'It was a book that he/she said he/she would buy.'
- (c) Egy könyv-e-t mond-o-tt hogy vesz- \emptyset .
 indef. book-acc say-past that buy-pres-3sg-indef.
 art. 3sg-indef.
 'It was a book that he/she said he/she would buy.'

Originally, in (10a) the matrix verb has a suffix of definiteness, because it agrees with the referring pronoun, *az-t*. After Sentence-intertwining, however, the verb must change in order to yield the correct sentence.

The analysis outlined above observes the Projection Principle (Chomsky, 29), because it requires that the structures at S-level be projected from the subcategorisation frame of the verb in the lexicon. Thus we can differentiate between the structures in (11) on the basis of the subcategorisation frame of the verb *lát* 'see':

- (11) (a) Lát-t-am [NP_e] [NP \acute{o} k- et].
 see-past [+nom] they-acc
 1sg
 'I saw them.'
- (b) Lát-t-am [NP_e][NP az-t][S hogy \acute{o} k jön- nek].
 see-past [+nom] it-acc that they-nom come-pres-3pl
 1sg
 'I saw that they were coming.'
- (c) Lát-t-am[NP_e][NP \acute{o} k_i-et] [Sjön- ni t_i].
 see-past [+nom] they-acc come-to
 1sg
 'I saw them come.'

The [+acc]NP in (11a) has both θ -role and case but in (11b) it has only case. If we omit the referring word, we get an empty position which has case but does not have a θ -role. This position can be filled by the subject or object of the embedded *S* in the case of Sentence-intertwining.

My argumentation has aimed at the structure in (11c). Our assumption is that, as with Sentence-intertwining, it is possible to move the subject (and sometimes even the object) into this empty NP position in the case of infinitivals. So we need not have two or more different lexical items of the verb *lát* 'see' in the lexicon. It will be sufficient to give an alternative subcategorisation frame for it:

$$(12) \quad V_{lát} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ [+acc] \\ +\theta\text{-role} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ [+acc] \\ -\theta\text{-role} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ [+tns] \end{array} \right\} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ [-tns] \end{array} \right\}$$

That is to say, the verb *lát* 'see' can take either an object NP, as in (11a), or an embedded *S* complement. The embedded *S* can be of two types: [+tns] or [-tns]. If it is [+tns], then the [+acc] NP position, which has no θ -role in this case, can be occupied either by the referring word, *az*, or by the subject or object of the embedded *S* in the case of Sentence-intertwining. If it is [-tns], then the [+acc]NP position must be filled by an argument (usually by the subject, or sometimes by the object) of the embedded *S*.⁷ Similarly, for verbs of the *látszik* 'seem'-class we will assume a subcategorisation frame like (13):

$$(13) \quad V \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ [+nom] \\ +\theta\text{-role} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ [+nom] \\ -\theta\text{-role} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ [+tns] \end{array} \right\} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ [-tns] \end{array} \right\}$$

⁷ The object of the embedded *S* can also move through this position, but the nature of this movement is not fully understood at the moment:

Mari látta [_{NP}Pistá_i-t] [_S PRO ver-ni [_{NP}t_i]].

Mary see-past Steve-acc +nom beat-to [+acc]

nom 3sg

'Mary saw Steve to be beaten.'

The existence of such sentences was brought to my attention by Anna Szabolcsi.

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ZUR FRAGE NACH DER HERAUSBILDUNG DER OSTOSTJAKISCHEN MUNDARTEN IM LICHT DER LAUTGESCHICHTE

Von
L. HONTI

0. Bei der Betrachtung der Vokalgeschichte der ostjakischen Sprache (Geschichte des ostjakischen Vokalismus. Berlin 1950 [= OstjVok.]) richtete Wolfgang Steinitz seine Aufmerksamkeit fast ausschließlich auf VVj. Trj. J von den Ostmundarten. Nachdem Karjalainens umfangreiches Wörterbuch (K. F. Karjalainens Ostjakisches Wörterbuch, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Y. H. Toivonen. LSFU X/I–II. Helsinki 1948 [= KT]) erschienen war, untersuchte er die Phonemsysteme auch der übrigen Mundarten, die gegenseitigen Lautentsprechungsverhältnisse zwischen ihnen und ihre Vokalgeschichte in bedauerlicher Weise immer noch unveröffentlichten kleineren Aufsätzen (Vokalgeschichte der Surguter Mundarten; Zur Quantität der Konsonanten im Ostostjakischen).

In der Periode nach der Herausgabe von KT sind einige neue Materialsammlungen erschienen, aufgrund von denen die Entwicklungsphasen der ostostjakischen Mundartengruppen bzw. Lokalmundarten erneut und eingehend untersucht werden können. Bei der Aufhellung der Geheimnisse der ostostjakischen Sprachgeschichte bietet besonders das vor kurzem erschienene Wörterbuch von N. I. Terëškin (Н. И. Терешкин: Словарь восточнохантыйских диалектов. Ленинград 1981) wertvolle Hilfe und einmalige Anhaltspunkte.

In den erwähnten unveröffentlichten Studien hat Steinitz die Vokalphoneme und deren Varianten in den Mundarten VK Vart. Likr. Mj. behandelt, während die Fragen in bezug auf die übrigen Ostmundarten in OstjVok. erörtert worden sind. Bei dem Vergleich der wichtigsten Feststellungen in OstjVok. mit den Ergebnissen der unveröffentlichten Arbeiten geht es hervor, daß sich seine Meinung nur in bezug auf die phonematische Beurteilung der Zeichen Trj. *ǫ* und *ǫ̃* in KT veränderte und zwar mit Grund, der Phonemwert des ersten ist nämlich *ʒ*, der des zweiten dagegen *ǫ* (vgl. noch W. Steinitz, Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache. Berlin 1966– [= DEWOS]). Er hat diese nachträgliche Änderung auch lautgeschichtlich rechtfertigen können: **ǫ > ʒ*, **ǫ̃ > ǫ*. Auch meine Beobachtungen hinsichtlich der Tra.-Mundart haben die Richtigkeit der späteren Phonembestimmung von Steinitz bestätigt. Es ist nachdrücklich hervorzuhe-

ben, daß das ganze Surguter Material im neuen Wörterbuch Terěškins die Steinitzsche These restlos unterstützt: in ihm wird *ǰ* durch *ǫ*, *ǫ* dagegen durch *ǻ* bezeichnet. Die J Angaben von Paasonen (H. Paasonens Ostjakisches Wörterbuch nach den Dialekten an der Konda und am Jugan. Zusammengestellt, neu transkribiert und herausgegeben von Kai Donner. LSFU II. Helsingfors 1927 [= PD]) enthalten nur *ǫ* im Gegensatz zu denen von Terěškin, so ist also nicht zu entscheiden, ob in der vom finnischen Forscher untersuchten Variant der Mundart am Jugan die Vokalphoneme *ǰ* und *ǫ* gegen die Jahrhundertwende schon in *ǫ* zusammengefallen waren oder Paasonen, der sonst ein feines Ohr haben mußte, unverständlicherweise nicht imstande war, den Unterschied zwischen *ǰ* und *ǫ* wahrzunehmen.

So werde ich mich also im folgenden auf die genannten Arbeiten von Steinitz in bezug auf die Mundarten VVj. VK. Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J stützen; auch die Lehren der von Terěškin gesammelten Angaben aus den Mundarten Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. werden in Betracht gezogen; die Behauptungen, die sich auf Tra. und P beziehen, stammen aus meinem Aufsatz (Beobachtungen über die Laut- und Formenlehre gegenwärtiger Surguter Mundarten des Ostjakischen. In: ALH 27 [1977], 271—286). (Meine phonematische Transkription weicht nur gering von denen von Steinitz und Terěškin ab.)

1. Die Vokalphonemsysteme in der ersten Silbe der Ostmundarten

VVj.				VK				Vart.			
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>
	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>				
<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ǻ</i>			<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>		<i>ǫ</i>		<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>
				<i>ǻ</i>				<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>

Likr.				Mj.				Trj.; Tra.; Ag. U-Ag. Trj.			
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	
	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	
<i>a</i>		<i>ǻ</i>		<i>a</i>	<i>ǻ</i>			<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>	
	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>		<i>ǫ</i>		<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>
<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>ǫ</i>

J U-J				J				P			
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>i</i> <i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>i</i> <i>ü</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>
	<i>o</i>		<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>		<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>		<i>e</i>
	<i>ä</i>		<i>ä</i>		<i>ä</i>		<i>ä</i>		<i>ä</i>		<i>ä</i>
<hr/>				<hr/>				<hr/>			
	<i>ø</i>		<i>ě</i> <i>ǵ</i>		<i>ø</i>		<i>ě</i> <i>ǵ</i>		<i>ø</i>		<i>ě</i> <i>ǵ</i>
	<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i> <i>ǵ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>

Sal.

<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>
<i>o</i>		<i>e</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>ä</i>
<hr/>		
<i>ø</i>		<i>ě</i> <i>ǵ</i>
<i>ǻ</i>		<i>ǻ</i>

Steinitz' Forschungen nach ist das System der Vokalphoneme in VVj. vom Urostjakischen her unverändert geblieben, welches — genauso seiner Behauptung nach — in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts die Lautwandel $\text{ɔ} > o$, $\text{ɔ̃} > \text{ö}$ erlitten (s. OstjVok. 26–28) und so mit dem in VK identisch sein sollte. Aufgrund Terëškins Monographie über die V-Mundart (Очерки диалектов хантыйского языка. Часть первая. Ваховский диалект. Москва-Ленинград 1961, 5 ff.) kann ein ähnliches Bild gewonnen werden. Als ich Gelegenheit hatte, die V-Mundart in Leningrad zu studieren, schenkte ich der Frage besondere Aufmerksamkeit, ob zwei *o*- bzw. *ö*-Laute, d. h. ein weites *ɔ* bzw. *ɔ̃* und ein mittelweites *o* bzw. *ö*, im gegenwärtigen Vach-Ostjakischen existieren. Nach meinen Beobachtungen sind *ɔ* und *ɔ̃* im Gegensatz zu Steinitz und Terëškin vorhanden. Auch J. Gulya hörte diese Laute (s. Eastern Ostyak Chrestomathy. UAS 51. Bloomington — The Hague 1966. 25), er hielt sie jedoch nicht für Phoneme (vgl. aber hierzu H. Katz' Stellungnahme in der Rezension über Gulyas Buch. In: Indogermanische Forschungen 76 [1971], 363).

Um den Entwicklungsgang der Vokale in den ostostjakischen Mundarten vom Ur(ost)ostjakischen an bis zu den heutigen Zuständen und dadurch die Herausbildung der bisher bekannt gewordenen ostostjakischen Mundarten beschreiben und veranschaulichen zu können, wird ein Teil des Beweismaterials unten mitgeteilt, auf denen sich meine Folgerungen beruhen. Ein geringeres Material wird für die Vokale, die ihre Stellung im System bewahrt haben, angeführt werden. Wegen Platzmangels werden die Quellen nicht angegeben, die Angaben von Terëškin werden von den übrigen durch Gedankenstrich getrennt.

*a

VVj. VK. Vart. Likr. Mj. *aməs-*, Trj. Tra. J P *āməs-* 'sitzen' Ag. — U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *āməs-*, Sal. *oməs-*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. *ał*, Trj. J *āl* 'Zaun' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *āl*, Sal. *oł*

Vj. Vart. Likr. Mj. *jaɣət-*, J *jāɣət-* 'umwenden' — Ag. U-Ag. J U-J Trj. *jāɣət-*

*i

VVj. VK. *iməl*, Vart. Likr. Trj. J *iməl* 'Gründling' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *iməl*, Sal. *iməl*

VVj. VK Vart. *jəntəw*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *jəntəp* 'Nähnadel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jəntəp*, Sal. *jəntəp*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *kɨł-* 'bleiben' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kɨł-*, Sal. *kɨł-*

*ɔ

VVj. *kələm*, Trj. Tra. J P *koΔəm* 'drei' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *koΔəm*, Sal. *kutəm*

VVj. *kələk*, VK *kolək*, Vart. *kolək*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *koləŋk* 'Rabe' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *koləŋk*, Sal. *kuləŋk*

VVj. *lont*, VK *lont*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J *Δont* 'Gans' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *Δont*, Sal. *tunt*

VVj. *oɣ*, VK Vart. *oɣ*, Likr. *aɣo*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *oɣo*, J *ow*, P *oɣo* 'Kopf' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *oɣo*, Sal. *oɣ*, *oɣo*

VVj. *ɔɣpi*, VK Vart. *oɣpi*, Likr. *aɣopi*, Mj. *oɣopi*, Trj. *oɣpi*, J P *owpi* 'Tür' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *oɣopi*

VVj. *soɣəm*, VK Vart. *soɣəm*, Likr. *saɣəm*, Trj. *soɣəm* 'Höhle' — Ag. Trj. Sal. *soɣəm*

VVj. *mək*, VK Vart. *mok*, Likr. *mak_o*, Mj. Trj. J *mok* 'Ei, Tierjungen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *mok*

VVj. *rək*, VK Vart. *rok*, Likr. *rak_o*, Mj. Trj. J P *rok* 'Kragen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *rok*

VVj. *əŋk*, VK Vart. *oŋk*, Likr. *aŋk_o*, Mj. Trj. J P *oŋk* 'Harz' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *oŋk*

*o

VVj. VK *soj*, Vart. Likr. *səj*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *səj* 'Reif' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *səj*

VVj. VK *torəm*, Vart. Likr. *törəm*, Mj. Trj. J P *törəm* 'Gott' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *törəm*

VVj. VK *wont*, Vart. *wənt*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *wənt* 'Wald' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *wənt*

VVj. *oy*, Vart. *ɔɣ*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *ǎɣ_o*, J (*ǎw*, PxSgl *ǎwǎm*) = *ǎw*, *ǎwam* 'Strom' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *ǎɣ_o*, J U-J *ǎɣ_o*, *ǎw*, Sal. *ɔɣ_o*, *ɔw*

VVj. VK *oyər*, Vart. *ɔɣər*, Likr. *ɔɣ_oər*, Mj. Trj. *ɔɣ_oər*, J (*ɔwər*) = *ɔwər*, P *ɔwər* 'hoch' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *ɔɣ_oər*, J U-J *ɔɣ_oər*, *ɔwər*, Sal. *ɔɣ_oər*

VVj. VK *oytɨ*, Vart. *ɔytɨ*, Likr. *ǎɣ_otɨ*, Mj. Trj. *ɔɣ_otɨ*, Tra. *ɔɣ_oti*, P *ɔwti* 'Oberfläche', J (*ɔwti*) = *ɔwti* : *ǎɬ-ɔ*. 'Klafter' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *ɔɣ_oti*, J U-J *ɔɣ_oti*, *ɔwti*, Sal. *ɔytə*

VVj. VK *joyəl*, Vart. *jɔɣǎɬ*, Likr. *jǎɣ_oǎɬ*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J (*jǎwɬ*, PxSgl *jǎwɬǎm*) = *jǎwǎɬ*, *jǎwǎam*, P *jǎwǎɬ* 'Schießbogen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jǎɣ_oǎɬ*, Sal. *jɔɣət*

VVj. VK *loy*, Vart. *ǎɔɣ*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. *ǎǎɣ_o*, J (*ǎǎw*, PxSgl *ǎǎwǎm*) = *ǎǎw*, *ǎǎwam*, P *ǎǎw* 'Pferd' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *ǎǎɣ_o*, J U-J *ǎǎw*, Sal. *tǎw* (!), *tɔɣ_o*

V *loyəl*-, Vj. VK *joyəl*-, Likr. *ǎǎɣǎɬ*-, Mj. Trj. *ǎǎɣ_oǎɬ*-, J (*ǎǎwɬ* - ~ *ǎǎɣɬ* -) = *ǎǎwǎɬ* - ~ *ǎǎɣǎɬ* - 'beißen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ǎǎɣ_oǎɬ*-, Sal. *tɔɣət*

VVj. VK *poɣəl*, Vart. *pɔɣǎɬ*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *pǎɣ_oǎɬ*, J (*pǎwɬ*, PxSgl *pǎwɬǎm*) = *pǎwǎɬ*, *pǎwǎam* 'Damm' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *pǎɣ_oǎɬ*, J U-J *pǎwǎɬ*, Sal. *pɔɣət*

VVj. VK *toyɨ*, Vart. *tɔɣɨ*, Likr. *tǎɣ*, *tǎɣɨ*, Mj. Trj. *tǎɣ_o*, J (*tǎw*, PxSgl *tǎwǎm*) = *tǎw*, *tǎwam*, P *tǎwi* 'Frühling' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *tǎɣ_oi*, J U-J *tǎɣ_o*, Sal. *tɔɣ_o*

VVj. *jɔɣ*, VK *jok*, Vart. *jɔk*, Likr. *jǎɣ_okə*, Mj. Trj. J *jǎk_okə*, P *jǎkkə* 'nach Hause' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jǎk_o*, Sal. *jɔkə*

V VK *rok*, Vart. *rɔk*, Likr. *rǎk_o*, Mj. *rǎk*, *rǎk_o*, Trj. *rǎk_o* 'Rückstand vom Fett' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *rɔk*, Sal. *rɔk_o*

VVj. *oɣtəw*, VK Vart. *ɔɣtəw* (!), Likr. Mj. Trj. J *ǎɣ_otəp* 'Spieß' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ǎɣtəp*, Sal. *ǎɣtəp*

Likr. *wǎɣ_ok_o*, Mj. (*ɣo'ɣ'k'*) = *woɣk*, Trj. *wɔɣk* (PxSgl *wɔɣkam*), J *woɣk* (PxSgl *wuɣkam*) 'Höhle' — Ag. A U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *wɔɣk*, Sal. *wɔɣk_o*

*u

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. *juɣ*, Tra. *juɣ_o*, J *juw*, P *juɣ_o*, *juw* 'Baum' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *juɣ*

Vj. VK *ulək*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J *uǎək* 'Kiefernwald' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *uǎək*, Sal. *utək*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ku*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *ko* 'Mann' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ko*, Sal. *k_u*

*ä

VVj. VK *ǎləɣ*, Vart. Likr. *ǎǎəɣ*, Mj. Trj. J P *ǎǎəɣ* 'Morgen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ǎǎəɣ*, Sal. *ǎtəɣ*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ämp*, Mj. Trj. J P *ämp* 'Hund' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *ämp*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ätəm*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *ätəm* 'schlecht' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *ätəm*

*e

VVj. VK *pelək*, Vart. Likr. *pălək*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *pălək* 'Hälfte' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *pălək*

VVj. VK *pestə*, Vart. Likr. *păstə*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *păstə* 'scharf' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *păstə*

VVj. VK *sem*, Vart. Likr. *săm*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *săm* 'Auge' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *săm*

*i

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *iki* 'Bruder des Vaters' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *iki*, Sal. *ikə*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *imi* 'Schwester der Mutter' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *imi*, Sal. *imə*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ni*, Mj. Trj. *ne*, Tra. *ne*, *ni*, J P *ne* 'Ehefrau' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *ne*

*j

VVj. *kōr*, VK Vart. Likr. *kōr*, Mj. Trj. J P *ker* 'Ofen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J *ker*, U-J *kōr* (!), Sal. *kor*

VVj. *kōmən*, VK Vart. *kōmən*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J *kemən* 'draußen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kemən*, Sal. *kāmən*, *komən*

VVj. *kōń*, VK Vart. Likr. *kōń*, Mj. J *keń* 'Polarfuchs' — U-Ag. *kōń* (!), J U-J *keń*, Sal. *koń*

Trj. Tra. *neyər-*, J *newər-* 'springen' — Ag. Trj. *neyər-*

VVj. *pōγərt*, VK Vart. *pōγərt*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *peγərt*, J *pewərt* 'Balken' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *peγərt*, J U-J *pewərt*, Sal. *pāwərt*, *pāγərt*

VVj. *jōγ-*, VK *jōγ-*, Vart. *jök-*, Likr. *jeγ-*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J *jek-*, P *jek-* 'tanzen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jek-*, Sal. *ják-*, *jok-*

VVj. *ļōk*, VK *ļōk*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J *lek-*, P *lek* 'Weg' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *lek-*, Sal. *lāk*, *lok*

VVj. *jōη*, Trj. Tra. J *jeη-*, P *jeη* 'zehn' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jeη-*, Sal. *jāη*, *jōη*

VVj. *ļōŋ'-*, Trj. *leŋ'-*, J *leηok-*, P *leŋk-* 'überdecken' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *leηok-*, Sal. *lāŋk-*, *loŋk-*

*ō

VVj. VK *kōčəγ*, Vart. Likr. *kōčəγ*, Mj. Trj. *kōčəγ*, J *kōčəγ*, P *kāčəγ* 'Messer' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kōčəγ*, Sal. *kāšə*

VVj. *kōčki*, Trj. Tra. *kōčyi*, J *kōčyi*, P *kāčyi* 'Säbel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *kōčyi*

VVj. VK *kōl*, Vart. Likr. *kōA*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *kōA*, J *kōA*, P *kōA* 'Wort' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kōA*, Sal. *kāt*

VVj. VK *kōt*, Vart. Likr. *kōt*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *kōt*, J *kōt*, P *kāt* 'Hand' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kōt*, Sal. *kāt*

VVj. VK *ōyat*-, Vart. *šyat*-, Likr. *šyat*-, Mj. Trj. *šyat*-, J P *šwat*- 'schneiden' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *šyat*-, J U-J Sal. *šwat*-

VVj. VK *kōy*, Vart. *kōy*, Likr. *kōy*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *kōy*, J *kōy* 'Stein' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *kōy*, J U-J Sal. *kōy*

VVj. VK *sōy*-, Vart. *sōy*-, Mj. Trj. *sōy*-, J *sōy*- 'flechten' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *sōy*-, J U-J *sōy*-, Sal. *sōy*-, *sōy*-

VVj. VK *sōy*, Vart. *sōy*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *sōy*, J *sōy*, P *sōy*, *sōy* 'Zopf' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *sōy*, J U-J *sōy*, Sal. *sōy*, *sōy*

Likr. *šōyər*-, Mj. Trj. Tra. *šōyər*-, J *šōyər*-, P *šōyər*-, *šōyər*- 'hacken' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *šōyər*-, J U-J *šōyər*-, Sal. *šōyər*-, *šōyər*-

VVj. VK *wōy*, Vart. *wōy*, Likr. *wōy*, Mj. *wōy*, Trj. *wōy*, Tra. *wōy*, *wōy*, J *wōy*, P *wōy* 'Kraft' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *wōy*, Sal. *wōy*, *wōy*

P *čānk*-, VVj. *čōnkəl*-, Trj. Tra. J *čānkōəA*- 'erwachsen werden' — U-Ag. *čānkō*-, Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *čānkōəA*-, Sal. *čānkōəA*-

VVj. VK *jōyat*, Vart. *jōyat*, Likr. *jōyat*, Mj. Trj. J *jōyat* 'Spindel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jōyat*, Sal. *jōyat*, *jōyat*

VVj. VK *jōnk*, Vart. *jōnk*, Likr. *jōnk*, Mj. Trj. J *jōnk*, P *jōnk* 'Eis' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jōnk*, Sal. *jōnk*, *jōnk*

VVj. VK *pōnk*, Vart. *pōnk*, Likr. *pōnk*, Mj. Trj. J *pōnk*, 'Zahn' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *pōnk*, Sal. *pōnk*, *pōnk*

VVj. VK *wōy* (!), Vart. *wōy* (!), Likr. *wōy*, *wōy* (!), Mj. *wōy*, Trj. *wōy*, Tra. *wōy*, J *wōy*, P *wōy* 'Schwiegersohn' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *wōy* (!), Sal. *wōy*

*ü

Vj. VK Vart. Likr. *čün*, Mj. Trj. *čin* 'Sumpfkiefer' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *čin*, Sal. *šin*

VVj. VK *kül*-, Likr. Vart. *küA*-, Mj. *küA*-, Trj. *kiA*-, J *küA*-, P *kiA*- 'aufstehen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *kiA*-, J U-J *küA*-, Sal. *kit*-

V VK *küli*, Vart. Likr. *küAi*, Mj. *küAi*, Trj. *kiAi*, J *küAi* 'Mann der Schwester' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J (!) *kiAi*, Sal. *kitə*

VVj. *lūnti*, VK *lūnti* (!), Vart. Likr. *lūnti*, Mj. Trj. *lūnti* 'Schneeammer' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *lūnti*, Sal. *lūntə*

VVj. VK *lūs*, Vart. Likr. *lūs*, Mj. *lūs* 'Ahlkirschbrot' —

VVj. VK *čüy*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *čüy*, J *čüy* 'Nebel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *čüy*, J U-J *čüy*, Sal. *šüy*

V *lün'wə*, Vj. *lün'wä*, Trj. *liŋ_okəp* 'Decke' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *liŋ_okəp*
 VVj. VK *lūyət-*, Likr. *āyət-*, Mj. Trj. *āiy_oət-*, J *āiwət-* 'hinausgehen' — Ag.
 U-Ag. Trj. *āiy_oət-*, J U-J *āiwət-*, Sal. *tiwət-*
 VVj. VK Vart. *süyəs*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. *siy_oəs*, J *siwəs* 'eine Falkenart' —
 Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *siy_oəs*, J U-J *siwəs*, Sal. *siyəs*, *siwəs*
 VVj. VK *tūyət*, Likr. Trj. *tiy_oət*, J *tiwət* 'Pfeilköcher' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj.
tiy_oət, J U-J Sal. *tiwət*

*ǎ

VVj. VK Vart. *sāwəs*, Likr. Mj. Trj. J *sāpəs* 'Netznadel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj.
 J U-J *sāpəs*, Sal. *sōpəs*
 VVj. VK *wāl-*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *wāΔ-* 'leben' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj.
 J U-J *wāΔ-*, Sal. *wōt-*
 V *wāŋkə*, Vj. VK *wāŋka*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J *wāŋkə* 'Lager (des Bären
 usw.)' —
 VVj. *lāyǎ*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. *āāyǎ* 'Welle' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *āāyǎ*,
 Sal. *tāyǎ*
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. *wāy*, J (*wāy*, PxSgl *wāyām* =) *wāy*,
wāyām, P *wāy* 'Eisen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *wāy*

*ǝ

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *kōŋi*, Mj. *kōŋi*, Trj. *kōŋi*, J *kōni* 'Bauchhaut' — Ag.
 U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kōŋi*, Sal. *kōnə*
 Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *kōnt-* 'entfliehen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kōnt-*,
 Sal. *kōnt-*
 V *lōla-*, Vj. *jōla-*, Trj. Tra. J *ΔΔΔ-* 'schmelzen' — Ag. U-Ag. *āāΔtə-*, Trj. J
 U-J *ΔΔΔtə-*, Sal. *tōttə-*
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *jōyət-*, Mj. Trj. *jōyət-*, *jōy_oət-*, Tra. *jōy_oət-*, J *jōwət-*, P
jōy_oət- 'ankommen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jōy_oət-*, Sal. *jōyət-*
 VVj. VK *lōy*, Vart. Likr. *Δōy*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *Δōy_o*, J P *Δōw* 'Knochen' — Ag.
 U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *Δōy_o*, Sal. *tōy_o*
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ñōyəs*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *ñōy_oəs*, J *ñōwəs* 'Zobel' — Ag.
 U-Ag. Trj. *ñōy_oəs*, J U-J *ñōwəs*, Sal. *ñōyəs*
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *soy*, Mj. Trj. Tra. *sōy_o*, J *sōw*, P *sōy*, *sōy_o* 'Fell' — Ag.
 U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *sōy_o*, Sal. *sōy_o*
 VVj. VK *ponəl*, Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J *ponəΔ* 'Seite' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J
pōŋəΔ, Sal. *pōŋət*

*ǧ

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *jēm* 'gut' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J
 Sal. *jēm*

VVj. VK *pěləŋ*, Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J *pěləŋ*, (Karjalainen) P *pďələŋ* 'Wolke' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *pěləŋ*, Sal. *pětəŋ*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *sěm* 'Herz' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. *sěm*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *jěγ* 'Vater' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jěγ*

*ǫ

V VK *ǫl-*, Vart. Likr. *ǫA-*, Mj. Trj. P *ǫA-* 'heizen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ǫA-*, Sal. *ět-*

V *ěraš, ǫraš*, Vj. *ǫrki*, VK Vart. Likr. *ǫraš*, Mj. Trj. *ǫraš*, Tra. *ǫrak*, J *ǫraš*, P *ǫrak* 'überflüssig' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *ǫraš*, Sal. *ěraš*

VVj. VK Likr. *jǫr-*, Mj. Trj. J P *jǫr-* 'anbinden' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jǫr-*, Sal. *jěr-*

VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *kǫŋč*, Mj. Trj. *kǫŋč*, Tra. J *kǫŋč* 'Nagel' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *kǫŋč*, Sal. *kǫŋč*

VVj. *kǫŋ'ŋi*, VK *kǫŋŋi*, Likr. *kǫŋŋi*, Mj. Trj. J *kǫŋŋi* 'Ellbogen' — Ag. U-Ag. *kǫŋŋi*, Trj. *kǫŋŋi*, *kǫŋčŋi*, J U-J *kǫŋčŋi*, Sal. *kǫŋčŋi*

V *lǫl*, Vj. VK *jǫl*, Likr. *ǫǫA*, *ǫǫA*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J *ǫǫA* 'Klafter' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. U-J *ǫǫA*, Sal. *tět*

VVj. VK *rǫγat-*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *rěγat-* J *rěwat-* 'mischen' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *rǫγat-*, J U-J Sal. *rǫwat-*

VVj. VK Vart. *sǫγas*, Likr. Mj. Trj. *sěγas*, Tra. *sǫγas*, J *sěwas*, P *sǫwas* 'Herbst' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *sǫγas*, J U-J *sǫwas*, Sal. *sǫγas*, *sǫwas*

VVj. VK Vart. *tǫγar*, Likr. *tǫγar*, *těγar*, Mj. Trj. *těγar*, P *tǫwar* 'Räucherholz' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *tǫγar*, J U-J *tǫwar*, Sal. *tǫγar*, *těwar*

VVj. VK Vart. *tǫγat*, Likr. *tǫγat*, *těγat*, Mj. Trj. *těγat*, Tra. *tǫγat*, J *těwat* 'Feuer' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *tǫγat*, J U-J *tǫwat*

VVj. *rǫŋkǫ-*, Trj. *rǫŋk-*, J *rǫŋkǫ-*, *rǫŋk-* 'waten' — Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *rǫŋk-*

1.1. Aufgrund des obigen Beweismaterials lassen sich die folgenden Schlußfolgerungen auf die Geschichte der ostostjakischen Dialekte ziehen.

A) Die östlichste Gruppe

Die weiten Labialvokale sind mit den mittelweiten zusammengefallen: *ɔ > o, *ʒ > ɔ̃. Dieser Zustand ist in VK widerspiegelt, dieselbe Lage dürfte auch in VVj bestehen. (S. unter 1).

B) Die Surguter Mundarten

1. Die mittelweiten Vollvokale verwandelten sich in weite reduzierte Vokale: *o > ɔ̃, *e > ǣ, *ɔ̃ > ǣ̃. Das so zustande gekommene System ist in Vart. anzutreffen.

2. In der nächsten Entwicklungsphase machten die Labialvokale bis auf **u* die nachfolgenden Palatovelare labial: **γ > γ_o*, **k > k_o*, **η > η_o* und wurden **ū*, **ō*, **ɜ* und **ɔ* illabial, bei **ū* kommen aber Schwankungen vor. Infolge dieses Lautwandels trat im System *e* erneut auf. Auf diese Weise hat das Vokalsystem in Likr. den schon bekannten Zustand erreicht. Außerdem ist noch **o* vor labialisierten Palatovelaren zu *a* geworden, das aber bereits vorher im System vorhanden war.

3. a) Die Entlabialisierung **ō > e* setzte sich fort und wurde von der phonetischen Umgebung unabhängig in Mj. Ag. U-Ag. Trj. Tra. J U-J P durchgeführt (s. noch Punkt 10).

b) Der Wandel **ū > i* verbreitete sich weiter bis auf die Position nach *k* in Mj. J U-J. J U-J *kiΔi* bei Terėškin wäre die einzige Angabe, die **ū* nicht aufbewahren haben sollte, es ist aber höchstwahrscheinlich, daß es hier wie auch in vielen anderen Fällen um Schreib- bzw. Tippfehler geht.

c) Der Wandel **ɜ > ɔ* ist in Mj. Ag. U-Ag. Trj. Tra. J U-J P nachzuweisen.

Damit hat sich das Vokalsystem in Mj. herausgebildet.

4. Der Schwund von **ɜ* gab wohl einen Stoß dem Wandel **ǰ > J U-J ɔ*, P *ǰ*.

5. Die Labialisierung von **a* zu *ǎ* mag eine junge Erscheinung sein und hat sich vermutlich aus dem südlichen Dialektgebiet am Irtyš nach dem Osten hin verbreitet (OstjVok. 57). Dieser Prozeß wurde bis zur Jahrhundertwende in der J-Mundart noch nicht abgeschlossen, da es eine Schwankung *ǎ ~ a* in ihr gibt (OstjVok. 31).

6. Die Palatovelare **γ*, **k*, **η* sind nach Labialvokalen labialisiert. In J ist ein Wandel **γ_o > w* durchgeführt, *k_o* und *η_o* sind erhalten geblieben. Anstelle von *γ_o* in J U-J bei Terėškin und in P kommt eine Schwankung *γ_o ~ w* vor, *k_o* und *η_o* in P sind entlabialisiert; im Surguter Material von Terėškin ist die Bezeichnung der Labialität inkonsequent, was ebenso auch auf Schwankung bzw. Verallgemeinerungstendenz des illabialen Konsonanten hinweisen kann. — Die Realisierung des Phonems *ǎ* in der Position vor Palatovelaren in J ist *ǎ* und *ǎ*. Bei der Behandlung dieser Frage legte Steinitz fest: „Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, daß Paasonens Bezeichnungsweise von Jug. [ǎ] oft fehlerhaft ist. Insbesondere gibt er in den Verbindungen [ǎγ, ǎw] das reduzierte [ǎ] mit dem Zeichen des vollen *ǎ* wieder“ (OstjVok. 85). In dem von ihm initiierten Wörterbuch (DEWOS) ist *ǎ* jedoch als Phonemzeichen für *ǎ*, *ǎ* in der Fortsetzung den urostjakischen Verbindungen **a* nicht eingeführt. M. E. sind *ǎ* und *ǎ* in den erwähnten Verbindungen die Varianten von *ǎ*, d. h. dem Vertreter des urostj. **ǎ*, sie sind nämlich am paradigmatischen Vokalwechsel mit *u* und *i* nicht beteiligt, vgl. *ǎwǎl* 'beißen': *ǎwǎm* (PrätSg1), *ǎǎǎ* (ImpSg2), *ǎw* 'Pferd': *ǎwǎm* (PxSg1), *wǎǎ* 'Eisen': *wǎǎm* (PxSg1). Ich meine also, daß die frühere Stellungnahme von Steinitz richtig war folg-

lich sind \dot{a} und \dot{a} in diesen Verbindungen als Varianten des Phonems \ddot{a} anzusehen, wenn sie nicht in Wechselbeziehung zu u und i stehen und/oder wenn sie als Vertreter des urostj. $*\ddot{a}$ erscheinen (da die vorhandenen Angaben an diesem Spezialfall ziemlich gering und nicht mehr nachzuprüfen sind, sind wir unumgänglicherweise gezwungen, bei der Bestimmung von Phonemen auch lautgeschichtliche Faktoren zu beachten). Es kommt jedoch manchmal vor, daß anstelle des zu erwartenden reduzierten Vokals ein unregelmäßiger Vollvokal auftritt, z. B. J *wonk* 'Grube, Höhle' \sim *wonkam* (PxSg1), vgl. Mj. *wonk* \sim Trj. *wönk*.

7. Alle bisher erwähnten Lautwandlungen sind relativ konsequent vor sich gegangen, nur selten kommen Schwankungen, unregelmäßige Lautvertretungen im Material von Karjalainen vor, z. B. \dot{e} statt \dot{a} : Vart. *jätarki* 'Birkhuhn' \sim Likr. *jätarki*, Mj. Trj. *jätarki*, \dot{a} statt \dot{e} : (Karjalainen) P *pää* 'Wolke' \sim Vart. Likr. Mj. Trj. J *pää*, \dot{e} statt \dot{o} : Likr. *ää* \sim *öö* 'Klafter' \sim Mj. Trj. Tra. J *öö*.

8. In den von mir untersuchten Mundarten Tra. und P und in Sur. bei Teräskin ist $*\dot{o}$ durch \dot{o} / \dot{o} vertreten, dagegen durch \dot{e} in Trj. bei Karjalainen und meistens durch \dot{e} in J bei Paasonen. Diese Abweichung kann auf zwei Weisen erklärt werden:

- a) im Gegensatz zur Feststellung von Steinitz sind \dot{a} von Karjalainen und \dot{o} von Paasonen als Varianten nicht zum Phonem \dot{e} sondern zum \dot{o} einzuordnen,
- b) Teräskin und ich waren nicht imstande, \dot{o} und \dot{a} / \dot{o} auseinanderzuhalten.

9. Obwohl das urostj. $*\ddot{a}$ in VVj. VK Sur. unverändert erhalten geblieben ist, kommt eine Schwankung $\ddot{a} \sim \dot{o}$ in einem Teil des Surguter Materials von Teräskin vor, z. B. Trj. J U-J *järipta* 'скрежетать' \sim Ag. U-J *jörpta*, Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *ääpas* 'амбар' \sim J U-J *ääpas*, aber: Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *mär* 'свилевый нарост' usw. Diese Schwankungen in der Schreibweise können sowohl in der Tat vorhandene Schwankungen fakultativen Charakters als auch Inkonsistenzen der Aufzeichnung bzw. Hörfehler widerspiegeln.

10. In einigen Mundarten scheint eine labiale Fortsetzung von $*\dot{a}$ beibehalten zu sein: J U-J *jönäk* (\sim *jönkam*) 'грива' \sim Ag. U-Ag. Trj. *jenäk* (\sim *jönkam*), U-Ag. *kon* 'печу' \sim J U-J *ken* (\sim *kinam*), U-J *mösän* (\sim *misänam*)! 'копчик' \sim Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J *mesän* (\sim *misänam*); \dot{o} in diesen Angaben widerspricht der Erwartung. $*\ddot{u}$ scheint seine Labialität in vereinzelt Fällen auch neben nicht Palatovelaren aufbewahrt zu haben. J *nüä* 'sichtbar werden', U-J *nüä* 'виднеться', J *piäni* \sim *püäni* 'Fliege', U-J *püäni* 'мошка'.

C) Die Mundart am Salym

Das Phonemsystem der Sal.-Mundart und dessen Geschichte werden in meinem Aufsatz A szalimi osztják nyelvjárás hang- és alaktanának ismertetése [Beschreibung der Laut- und Formenlehre der ostjakischen Mundart am Salym] (NyK 84 [1982], 91–119) dargestellt, so werden hier die diesbezüglichen Fragen nur kurz berührt.

1. *o vor *ŋ wurde zu *ö palatalisiert.
2. Die mittelweiten labialen Vollvokale vor *ŋ und *ŋk fielen mit den entsprechenden weiten in *ɔ, *ɔ zusammen.
3. Die Palatovelare wurden unter dem Einfluß der vorangehenden Labialvokale labialisiert.
4. *u wurde nach *w und vor *ŋ zu o.
5. Die mittelweiten Vollvokale wurden reduziert: *o > ǎ vor labialisierten Palatovelaren, sonst *o > ɔ/ǎ, *e > ě.
6. Die Wandlungen im Bereich der weiten Vollvokale: *a > a vor Palatovelaren, sonst *a > o: dieser Lautwandel ist im Dialekt Irt. genauso auf diese Weise abgelaufen. Weiterhin: *ɔ > o und *ɔ > á/o. Im Vorwort seines Wörterbuchs erwähnt Terěškin (S. 4), es gebe zwei Varianten der Sal.-Mundart, so können die doppelten Vertretungen von *o und *ɔ die verschiedenen Varianten der Mundart repräsentieren.
7. *ĭ neben Palatovelaren wurde weiter: *ĕ,
8. dann verwandelten sich sowohl *ĭ als auch *ĕ in palatalisierte Vokale: i, e.

Die Lautwandel unter 7 und 8 fanden auch in Irt. statt.

9. *ǫ vor Palatovelaren hat sich aufbewahrt, in allen übrigen Positionen ist es aber in ě übergegangen.

10. *ǫ vor ŋ_o hat sich zu ǫ palatalisiert (genauso wie in der DT-Mundart, die sich in die Irt.-Gruppe zählt), sonst ist es erhalten geblieben.

11. *ǎ neben Palatovelaren hat seine Quantität aufbewahrt, in anderen Stellungen tritt eine Schwankung ǎ ~ ɔ auf (vgl. hierzu Punkt 5).

Infolge der aufgezählten Lautwandel hat das Vokalsystem in Sal. solche Züge erhalten, die diese Mundart zweifelsohne mit dem südlichen Dialekt verbinden. Es kann noch hinzugefügt werden, daß die Vokalphonemsysteme in Sal. und DT völlig übereinstimmen (zum letzteren s. W. Steinitz, Vokalskizze der Irtyschmundarten [Manuskript]). Außerdem läßt es sich kaum bezweifeln, daß sich einige für den Sur.-Dialekt charakteristische Lautwandel auch in der Geschichte der Mundart am Salym als wirksam erwiesen haben, obwohl nicht im selben Ausmaß.

1.1.1. Sämtliche Vokalwechsel ural-tjarkischer Herkunft in der Wortbildung sind auch in Sal. nachzuweisen, dagegen die in den westlichen Dialekten fehlen, kommen auch in Sal. nicht vor, z. B. VVj. *aləŋ*, Trj. *ǎləŋ*, DN *otəŋ*, Ni. *otəŋ*, Kaz. *ɔləŋ*, O *aləŋ* 'Anfang, Ende' ~ VVj. *uləŋtə-*, Trj. *uləŋtə-* — DN *otəŋt-*, Ni. *otəŋt-*, Kaz. *ɔləŋt-* 'anfangen': Sal. *otəŋ*, *otŋat-* [ɔ: ? *otŋət-*].

Ähnlich wie im Westen gibt es keinen Vokalwechsel in den possessivsuffigierten Nomina und in der Konjugation; der Wechsel ist auf dem östlichen Mundartengebiet ganz allgemein, nur in Vj. scheint er sich in Rückgang zu befinden.

1.2. Vokalismus der nicht-ersten Silbe

Die Mundarten VVj. VK haben die urostjakischen Verhältnisse aufbewahrt:

<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>
<hr/>	
<i>ə</i>	

Tiefgehende Lautwandel haben nicht einmal in der Herausbildung der Surguter Mundarten stattgefunden. Als einer der wichtigsten kann wohl **i/*i > e/e* vor Personal- und manchen anderen Suffixen mit *n* und im Imperativ Sg2 angesehen werden. Paasonens J Material läßt darauf schließen, daß in J die palatovelare Vokalharmonie um die Jahrhundertwende im Verschwinden begriffen war, weil die palatovelare Opposition nur im Bereich der weiten Vokale aufrechterhalten blieb:

<i>i</i>
<i>e</i>
<i>a</i> <i>ä</i>
<hr/>
<i>ə</i>

In J hat Paasonen unabhängig vom Vokal der ersten Silbe *è* geschrieben, z. B. *imèm* [‘meine Schwiegermutter’], *kalèm* [‘meine Leiche’], dagegen kommen zweierlei Endvokale: *ì* und *ĩ* vor, z. B. *imì* ‘Schwiegermutter’, *kalì* ‘Leiche’, *pakì* ‘Puppe’, *katšĩ* ‘Ameise’, *dwìta-* ‘krängen’, die letztere Variante tritt also nur in der Nachbarschaft von *w* und Palatovelaren auf. Als ich die Mundarten Tra. und P studierte, habe ich bemerkt, daß die Vokalharmonie in ihnen schon verschwunden ist (s. ALH 27 [1977], 272); genauso verhält es sich im Surguter Material Terëškins. Die Vokalharmonie, wo sie noch überhaupt existiert bzw. existierte, wird bzw. wurde von einem Alternanten des Passivsuffixes (VVj. *uj*, Sur. *u*, *o*, *oj*) gestört (dieses Suffix in Sal. ist auslautend *ə*, inlautend *əj*, welcher Umstand die Sal.-Mundart wieder dem Irt.-Dialekt nahe stellt, in DN und DT hat nämlich das Passiv auch einen Alternanten *əj*).

Die auslautenden Vokale sowie die Verbindungen „Vokal + **j/*γ*“ in Sal. haben sich (teils wie in Irt.) zu *ə* reduziert. Die inlautenden **i* und **i* sind vor *k*, *g*, *p*, *n* meistens durch *e*, in anderen Stellungen durch *i* vertreten, so sind die Vokalphoneme in Sal. wie folgt:

<i>i</i>
<i>e</i>
<i>a</i>
<hr/>
<i>ə</i>

1.3. Konsonantismus

Wie es aus dem obigen Beispielmaterial hervorgeht, waren die Umwandlungen von urostjakischen Lateralen $*\Delta$ ($<<*s, *š$), $*l$ und $*l'$ die wichtigsten:

- a) anlautendes $*\Delta > V l, Vj. VK \emptyset$ vor i , sonst j , Sur. Δ , Sal. (Irt.) t ,
- b) in- und auslautendes $*\Delta > VVj. VK l$, Sur. Δ , Sal. (Irt.) t ,
- c) $*l$ in allen Stellungen ist durch $VVj. VK l$, Sur. Δ , Sal. (Irt.) t vertreten,
- d) $*l'$ in allen Stellungen $> VVj. VK l'$, Sur. Δ' , Sal. (Irt.) t' .

Die kakuminalen Konsonanten haben ihr kennzeichnendes Merkmal bewahrt, dies aber scheint lediglich in denjenigen Mundarten, in denen nur durch diese Eigenschaft zwei Phoneme unterschieden werden, bezeichnet werden zu müssen:

urostj.	$*l - *l', *n - *n, - *č$
VVj. VK	$l - l', n - n, - č$
Sur.	$- l, n - n, - č$
Sal.	$- l, n - n, - š$

In meiner Sammlung aus Tra. und P fehlt n , obwohl es auch da existieren kann; es ist mir wohl nicht gelungen, die Kakuminalität zu apperzipieren. Auch bei Paasonen gibt es kein Zeichen n .

Urostj. $*č$ ist im Osten (und auch in Irt.) zu t' geworden, $*č$ blieb dagegen erhalten mit Ausnahme von Sal., wo es durch $š$ vertreten ist.

Ein anderer Lautwandel, der aber nur Sur. und Sal. umfaßt, ist die Labialisierung von Palatovelaren nach Labialvokalen (s. 1.1. B 2, 6 und C).

In Sal. ist ein Wandel $*\gamma > \eta$ im Segment $*\gamma n$ (wie auch im Westen) mit Ausnahme des Dualsuffixes in der Deklination vor sich gegangen.

Infolge der Wandel $*ka- > k_0-$, $*k_5- > ko-$, $*k_7- > k_e-$, $*ki > ki-$ in Sal. muß mit einem velaren k_7 und einem palatalen k -Phonem gerechnet werden (vgl. hierzu $*ks-/*kš- > χs-/k_3-$ im Westen). In Sal. habe ich kein k_0 gefunden, obgleich es in den Fortsetzungen der urostjakischen Segmenten $*\eta k$ und $*\omega k$ zu erwarten wäre; auch hier kann man an Inkonssequenzen in der Bezeichnung denken.

Als Ergebnis der oben geschilderten Wandlungen sind die folgenden Konsonantensysteme zustande gekommen:

VVj. VK				Sur.				Sal.								
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i> _o	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i> _o	<i>k</i> ₇	? <i>k</i> _o
<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		<i>γ</i>	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>γ</i> _o	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>γ</i> _o		
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>η</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>η</i>	<i>η</i> _o	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>η</i>	<i>η</i> _o
	<i>s</i>					<i>s</i>					<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>				
						<i>Δ</i>	<i>Δ'</i>									
		<i>č</i>					<i>č</i>									
<i>r</i>					<i>r</i>						<i>r</i>					
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>				<i>l</i>						<i>l</i>				

Die Laterale in Vart. stimmen wohl mit denen in Sur. überein, obwohl $_{\text{L}}$ (für Δ) in Vart. bei Karjalainen nur auf einen stimmlosen lateralen Konsonanten ohne starkes Reibungsgeräusch (aber mit starkem Reibungsgeräusch bei Δ) hinweisen kann.

Auch für Likr. sind Δ und Δ' in der Tabelle der Konsonantenphonem im Surguter Dialekt von mir eingeführt worden, die in KT durch θ und θ' , \acute{s} , \acute{z} wiedergegeben sind, z. B. (in ursprünglicher Transkription) Likr. $\theta\acute{\alpha}\theta'\acute{t}\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{s}$ 'stehen' $\sim \theta\acute{z}\acute{\alpha}$ \sim Mj. $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\Delta'\acute{t}\acute{\alpha}'\acute{s}$ $\sim \Delta\acute{z}\Delta'\acute{\alpha}'$, Likr. $\acute{t}\acute{\theta}\theta\acute{\alpha}\chi$ 'Winter', $\acute{t}\acute{\theta}\theta\gamma\acute{\iota}\acute{n}$ 'im Winter' \sim Mj. $\acute{t}\acute{\theta}\Delta'\acute{\alpha}\chi$, Trj. $\acute{t}\acute{\theta}\Delta'\acute{\alpha}\chi$, $\acute{t}\acute{\theta}\Delta'\chi\acute{i}'\acute{n}$, Likr. $\acute{s}'\acute{\theta}k'$, $\acute{z}'\acute{\theta}k'$, $\acute{z}'\acute{\theta}k'$ 'dicht' \sim Mj. Trj. $\Delta'\acute{\theta}k'$, Likr. $\acute{z}\acute{\alpha}\eta k'\acute{i}$ 'Verstorbener' \sim Mj. $\Delta'\acute{\alpha}\eta k'\acute{i}$. Über den Gewährsmann in Likr. hat sich Karjalainen, wie folgt, geäußert: „Beim Sprechen von l - und s -Lauten „lispelte“ seine Zunge (er sprach θ und 'scharfes' s), andere habe ich nicht so sprechen hören (oder sollte er nur eine ältere Artikulationsart haben, denn alle Leute in diesen Dörfern sind jünger?)“ (KT XV). Die Annahme in bezug auf das Alter der Artikulationsart ist durch die Tatsache zurückzuweisen, daß nicht nur die Vertreter von (U/FU) $*s$, $*\acute{s}$, sondern auch die von $*l$ durch dieselben Lauten von dem lispelnden Gewährsmann ausgesprochen wurden, die Artikulation von l weist aber keine Besonderheiten auf, z. B. Likr. $\theta\acute{i}\theta$ 'Atem' \sim VVj. VK $\acute{l}\acute{i}'\acute{l}'$, Vart. $\acute{l}\acute{i}'\acute{l}$, Mj. $\Delta\acute{z}\Delta$, Trj. $\Delta\acute{i}'\Delta$, Likr. $\acute{l}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}$ 'ein Wasservogel' \sim VVj. VK Vart. $\acute{l}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}$, Mj. Trj. $\acute{l}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}$. Die Likr.-Entsprechungen der Δ bzw. Δ' in den übrigen Surguter Mundarten werden in DEWOS durch θ bzw. θ' , \acute{z} wiedergegeben, letzten Endes ist also die ursprüngliche Schreibweise Karjalainens beibehalten und so einerseits ein Sprechfehler an DEWOS vererbt und andererseits das Prinzip der phonematischen Transkription verletzt, da die Entsprechung von Δ' der übrigen Surguter Mundarten durch zwei Buchstaben: θ' , \acute{z} wiedergegeben ist.

1.4. Den Überblick über die Lautgeschichte der Ostdialekte zusammenfassend werden die regelmäßigen Fortsetzungen der ur(ost)ostjakischen Vokale bzw. der Verbindungen von Vokalen mit palatovelaren Konsonanten und $*wu$ und so auch die interdialektalen Entsprechungsverhältnisse in einer Tabelle angegeben (S. 104–105). Bei der Zusammenstellung der Tabelle sind auch Angaben beachtet worden, die im etymologischen Beweismaterial nicht angeführt sind.

2. Seinerzeit hielt Karjalainen Vart. für Übergangsmundart zwischen dem östlichsten und dem Surguter Dialekt. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt Steinitz in seinem unveröffentlichtem Aufsatz über die Surguter Mundarten fest: „Karjalainen äußert sich nicht näher darüber, worin der Übergangscharakter von Vart. besteht. Auf Grund des freilich sehr lückenhaften Materials von Karjalainen für Vart. kann man vorläufig folgendes sagen: In morphologischer Beziehung gehört Vart. zu V-Vj., wie z. B. die für V-Vj.

Die interdialektalen Entsprechungsverhältnisse der uestjakischen Vokale und Lautverbindungen im Osten

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Urostj.	VVj.	VK	Vart.	Likr.	Mj.	Trj.	Tra.	J (U—J)	P	Sal.
						(Ag. U—Ag.)				
*a	a	a	a	a	a	ä	ä	ä	ä	o
*ay	ay	ay	ay	ay	ay	äy	äy	äy	äy	ay
*ak	ak	ak	ak	ak	ak	äk	äk	äk	äk	ak
*i	i	i	i	i	i	ï	ï	ï	ï	ï
*ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	kï	kï	kï	kï	ke
*iy	iy	iy	iy	iy	iy	ïy	ïy	ïy	ïy	ey
*ik	ik	ik	ik	ik	ik	ïk	ïk	ïk	ïk	ek
*iη	iη	iη	iη	iη	iη	ïη	ïη	ïη	ïη	eη
*o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
*ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko
*oy	oy	oy	oy	ay/ay _o	oy/oy _o	oy/oy _o	oy _o	oy/ow	oy _o /ow	oy/oy _o /ow
*ok	ok	ok	ok	ak _o	ok/ok _o	ok		ok		ok
*oη	oη	oη	oη	aη _o	oη	oη		oη	oη	oη
*o	o	o	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö/ä
*oy	oy	oy	öy	äy/äy _o /öy _o	äy _o /öy _o	äy _o /öy _o	äy _o /öy _o	äw/öw	äw/öw	äy _o /äy _o /öy _o /öw
*ok	ok	ok	ök	äk _o	äk/äk _o	äk _o		äk _o		ök
*oη	oη	oη	öη	äη _o	äη _o	äη _o		äη _o		äη
*oηk	oηk	oηk	äη _o k _o	äη _o k _o	äη _o k _o	äη _o k _o		äη _o k _o		oηk
*u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
*wu	(w)u	wu	wu	wu	wu	wu	wu	wu	wu	u/wo
*uy	uy	uy	uy	uy	uy	uy	uy _o	uw	uy _o /uw	uy/oy
*uη	uη	uη	uη	uη	uη	uη		uη	uη	äη/oη
*uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	uηk	oηk
*ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä
*e	e	e	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä
*i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
*kö	kö	kö	kö	kö	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	kä/ko
*öy	öy	öy	öy	ey _o	ey _o	ey _o	ey _o	ew	ew	äy _o /äw

spezifische Bildung der 3 P. Si. Präs. auf *-wəl* zeigt; z. B. KT 933 *tʃakənwal* 'er erstickt'; ebenso daß Suffix *-əkɨ/-aki* zur Bezeichnung der prädikativen Stellung des Adjektivs, z. B. *jəm* 'gut', *jəmaki* 167a, *koy* 'lang', *koyəkɨ* 285b. — Im Konsonantismus zeigt es die typische Sonderentwicklung »nichtanlautendes *p > w* (außer nach *m*)« wie V-Vj., z. B. KT 585 V-Vj. VK *nowət* 'Lebenszeit', Vart. *nəwət*, aber Likr. Mj. Trj. *nəpət*, Irt. Ni. Scher. *nupət*, Kaz. *nəpət*, O *nopət*; ebenso 470 *lʃwət* 'Regen', 807a *rəw* 'Uferabhäng' usw. — In bezug auf anlautendes V *l-* = Vj. VK *j-* schließt sich Vart. an V an: *Δ-*. — In den bisher angeführten Zügen gehört Vart. also. i. A. zum V-Vj.-Dialekt. Sein Übergangscharakter zeigt sich im stimmlosen *Δ* (= V-Vj. VK *l*) sowie im besonderen im Vokalismus: die typische Sonderentwicklung von Sur., die Reduzierung der vollen mittelweiten Vokale, tritt auch in Vart. auf. . . Die typische Tendenz von Sur. zur Delabialisierung der vorderen Labialvokale und von *o* fehlt jedoch in Vart. Nebenbei sei noch bemerkt, daß die prädikative Partikel auch in Sal. gebräuchlich ist, z. B. *jəʃpeŋəkə*: *kəʃarələ ərət j.* 'у бурундука спинка полосатая', vgl. *jəʃpeŋ* 'полосатый'.

Bei der Klarlegung der Beziehungen der Vart.-Mundart zu den übrigen Ostmundarten hat es sich erwiesen, daß sie sich unleugbar an die von VVj. VK gebildeten Gruppen anschließt, der Lautwandel **l > Δ* und die Reduzierung der urostjakischen mittelweiten Vokale repräsentieren einen Übergangscharakter, der auf das Surguter Dialektgebiet hinweist. Sogar die Likr.-Mundart weist Züge auf, die sie mit der östlichsten Gruppe verbinden, obwohl sie eine echte Surguter Mundart ist. Um diese These beweisen zu können, zähle ich noch einige Angaben auf:

a) Vokalismus der ersten Silbe

- VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *əŋət* ~ Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *əŋət* 'Horn'
 V VK Vart. *əya-*, Likr. *əy-* ~ Mj. Trj. *əy_o-*, J *əw-* 'strömen'
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *kayər-* ~ Mj. Trj. *koyər-* 'zusammendrücken'
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ku* ~ Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *ko* 'Mann'
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *käyi* ~ Mj. Trj. *key_oi*, J *kewi* 'Hammer'
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ni* ~ Mj. Trj. *ne*, Tra. *ne*, *ni* (!), J P *ne* 'Frau'
 VVj. VK Vart. Likr. *ləyən* ~ Mj. Trj. *ləy_oən* 'Faust'
 VVj. VK Vart. *awət* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. J *opət* 'Haar'
 VVj. VK Vart. *kaŋət-* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. J *kunət-* 'klettern'
 VVj. VK *kotəl* ~ Vart. *kətəΔ* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *kātəΔ* 'Tag'
 VVj. VK *ejəm* ~ Vart. *əjəm* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. J *əjəm* 'Leim'
 V VK Vart. *küm* 'hinaus' — VVj. *kəmən*, VK Vart. *kömən* 'draußen' ~
 Likr. Mj. Trj. J *kem* — Likr. Mj. Trj. J *kemən*
 VK Vart. *səŋi* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. J *suŋi* 'nicht zugefrorene Stelle'
 VVj. VK *tələy*, Vart. *təΔəy* ~ Likr. *təΔəy*, Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *təΔəy* 'Winter'

b) Vokalismus der nicht-ersten Silbe

VVj. *jäyrak*, VK *jäyray*, Vart. *jäyrak* ~ Likr. *jäyrey*, Mj. Trj. *jäy_orey*, J *jäwrey* 'schief'

VK Vart. *jorim* ~ Likr. Mj. *jorem* 'Rinnsal, tiefe Stelle'

c) Endung des Imperativs

Vj. VK Vart. Likr. *kēñči* ~ Trj. *kēñče* ['suches']

d) Suffix des Infinitivs

VVj. VK *kültä*, Vart. *küätä* ~ Likr. *küätäyā*, Mj. *küätäyā*, Trj. *kiätäyā* 'aufstehen'

VVj. VK *kōrəytä*, Vart. *kšrəytä* ~ Likr. *kšrəytäyā*, Mj. Trj. *kšrəytäyā* 'umfallen'

VVj. VK Vart. *kěstä* ~ Likr. *kěstäyā* 'laufen'

e) Andere Suffixe

VVj. VK *jetərki*, Vart. *jētərki*, Likr. *jätərki* ~ Mj. Trj. *jätərqi* 'Birkhuhn'

VVj. VK *kōjəm*, Vart. *kšjəm* ~ Likr. *kōjəp*, Mj. Trj. *kōjəp* 'Zaubertrommel'

VVj. *kolək*, VK *kolək*, Vart. *kolək* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. Tra. J P *koləŋk* 'Rabe'

VVj. VK *mələk*, Vart. *mälək* ~ Likr. *mäləŋk*, Mj. Trj. J *mäləŋk* 'warm'

VVj. *morək*, Vart. *mšrək* ~ Likr. Mj. Trj. J *mörəŋk* 'Sumpfbrombeere'

3. Alles in allem : Es ist also klar, daß Vart. zur östlichsten, Likr. dagegen zur Surguter Gruppe gehört, obwohl sie gleichzeitig auch Eigenschaften aufweisen die sie mit der anderen benachbarten Gruppe verbinden, so können sie also in der Tat als Übergangsmundarten angesehen werden.

Das östliche Dialektgebiet ist in drei Einheiten einzuteilen : Ostgruppe (VVj. VK Vart.), Surguter Gruppe (Likr. Mj. Ag. U-Ag. Trj. Tra. J U-J P) und der Dialekt am Salym. Das folgende Schema, das aber verständlicherweise von gewissen Verzerrungen nicht frei ist, veranschaulicht linear die Beziehungen zwischen den Mundarten im Osten und auf dem angrenzenden Irtyš-Gebiet.

Irt.

Ostgruppe

andere Irt.- Mund- arten	DN DT	Sal.	P	U—J J	Trj. Tra.	Ag. U—Ag.	Mj.	Likr.	Vart.	VK	V Vj.
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Sur.

Abkürzungen der ostjakischen Mundarten

Ag.	= die Mundart am Agan
DN	= die Mundart an der oberen Demjanka
DT	= die Mundart an der unteren Demjanka
Irt.	= der Dialekt am Irtyš
J	= die Mundart am Jugan
Kaz.	= die Mundart in der Gegend vom Kazym
Likr.	= die Mundart in Likrisovskoe
Mj.	= die Mundart am Malyj Jugan
Ni.	= die Mundart in Nizjam
O	= die Mundart in der Gegend von Obdorsk
P	= die Mundart am Pim
Sal.	= die Mundart am Salym
Scher.	= die Mundart in Šerkaly
Sur.	= der Dialekt im Surguter Kreis
Tra.	= die Mundart in Tromagan
Trj.	= die Mundart am Tremjugan
U-Ag.	= die Mundart in der Gegend der Mündung vom Agan
U-J	= die Mundart in der Gegend der Mündung vom Jugan
V	= die Mundart am Vach
Vart.	= die Mundart in Vartovskoe
Vj.	= die Mundart am Vasjugan
VK	= die Mundart in Verchne-Kalymsk

REMARKS ON THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF TOPIC AND FOCUS IN HUNGARIAN

By

L. HUNYADI

This paper is a syntactic and semantic study of the Hungarian sentence based on the proposals of É. Kiss (1978, 1980, 1981). The semantic properties of the positions T(topic) and F(ocus) will be analysed and it will be shown that, her framework is by and large, appropriate for the description of the logical relations in the sentence. In order to account for certain phenomena not taken care of in É. Kiss's framework I am going to propose certain distinctions concerning T and F. Logical relations will be accounted for in terms of operators and elements. It will be shown that even if a strong relationship exists between syntactic position and stress, these are two different phenomena expressing two different operators. I will describe how logical scope relations are expressed linguistically in a sentence. The behaviour of verbal prefixes will also be discussed. It will be claimed that verbs too, can be focussed. A hypothesis will be advanced to motivate the apparent universal that universal pronouns never have broader scope than negation.

1. Some problems in the functioning of topic-focus structure

According to É. Kiss, Hungarian, despite its seemingly "free" word order, actually favours two basic positions for arguments to the left of the verb, T (for topic) and F (for focus). It is possible to account for word order options in terms of these positions. To be sure, word order transformations are not meaning preserving. Thus, (1) and (2) are in no way semantically synonymous:

- (1) (Ø) (Ø) Láttam Pétert.

T F

'I saw Peter.'

- (2) (Ø) Pétert láttam.

T F

'It was Peter whom I saw.'

The two sentences have different syntactic structures: in (1) the focus-position is empty whereas in (2) it is occupied; in (1) there is no clearly distinguishable main stress in the sentence whereas in (2) the focussed constituent receives main stress (denoted here by the sign'). That stress is syntactically relevant is shown in (3) as compared to (2). Although (3) consists of the same linear order of words as (2), a mere change of main stress changes syntactic as well as semantic structure:

- (3) Pétert (Ø) lát^ˈtam.
 T F
 'As for Peter, I saw him.'

Word order transformations do not only bring about semantic changes but also have syntactic consequences. Thus, according to the general principle only one constituent can appear in F at one time, cf. (4) — (6):

- (4) (Ø) Meglát^ˈtam Pétert.
 F
 'I caught sight of Peter.'
- (5) (Ø) Pétert lát^ˈtam meg.
 T F
 'It was Peter whom I caught sight of.'
- (6) *(Ø) Pétert meglát^ˈtam.
 T F F

Since a verbal prefix is most often attached to the verb and is pronounced as one unit with it and does not have the kind of lexical meaning other arguments usually have it might easily be taken for a structural part of the verb that seems to move to the right of the verb if, e.g., a noun is focussed (as in (5)). Yet, this is only a pseudo-movement since verbal prefixes as a whole make a distinct class of arguments (no doubt, with a semantics different from that of other nominal arguments) and the above general principle of focussing is applied to them in just the same way as to nominals. That is why (5) is correct and (6) is ill-formed.

But if one compares CONV's (i.e. "converbs": prefixes, article-less nouns, certain adverbials, etc.) and nominals a question arises that is not a pseudo-problem at all. (4) and (5) have the same basic syntactic structure in which T is empty and F is occupied yet they are basically different from a logical point of view: (5) expresses contrast whereas (4) does not. Now, since the only essen-

tial difference between them is that whereas in (4) a CONV is focussed, in (5) it is a nominal, the basic logical structure of a sentence seems to be determined by the kind of argument moved into the given syntactic position. But, as we saw above, word order transformations are not meaning preserving and the change in syntactic positions is responsible for the non-synonymy of word-order options, consequently it is not clear why the filling in of one and the same syntactic position (namely, F), even if by two different kinds of argument, results in two contrasting logical structures. In order to answer this question we shall have to revise the description of F as suggested by É. Kiss.

The rules concerning the filling in of position F require a revision since (a) not any kind of argument can occupy this position (cf. (7a) but (7b)*), and (b) the scope of negation is also dependent on factors other than whether the argument in question is in T or F (cf. (8a) with the quantifier negated and (8b) with the quantifier not negated):

(7) (a) Pétert (Ø) lát^ˈtam.

T F

'As for Peter, I saw him.'

(b) *Mindenkit (Ø) lát^ˈtam.

T F

'*As for everyone, I saw them.'

(8) (a) Mindenkit nem lát^ˈtam.

T F

'I did not see everyone.'

(b) Valakit nem lát^ˈtam.

T F

'There was someone I did not see.'

It goes without saying that the filling in of F and T brings about syntactic and semantic changes in the sentence. Let us now consider movements of various types of arguments into these positions in order to see the semantic differences within F and T as well.

One of the questions to be answered is this: what are the basic semantic properties of syntactic positions? Thus, as already pointed out, CONV's and nouns with main stress will require different focus-positions since if N is in F we normally have "contrast" in the semantic structure of the sentence whereas if CONV is focussed we do not have such a contrast. As for T, it would again be an oversimplification to say that a topicalised sentence, in contrast to a focussed one, only expresses the possibility of contrast. We also have to notice

that there is a further difference between nouns and CONV's: nouns and other nominals may be topicalised without any verbal argument in F (cf. (9)) whereas if CONV is topicalised F must also be occupied (cf. (10a) and (10b)):

- (9) A könyvet (Ø) olvastam.
 T F
 'As for the book, I read it.'

- (10) (a) El a könyvet olvastam.
 T F
 'What I read was the book.'

- (b) *El (Ø) olvastam a könyvet.
 T F

The syntactic status of quantifiers in the topic-focus structure seems somewhat problematic. Universal quantifiers may take the main stress of a sentence to the left of an occupied F. Thus they seem to occupy a position syntactically different from both T and F. They are assigned by É. Kiss a special Q- (quantifier-) position (cf. (11a)):

- (11) (a) Mindenki őt nézte.
 Q F
 'Everybody was looking at *him*.'

That *mindenki* 'everybody' behaves in a different way syntactically than *őt* 'him' is evident from (11b) and (11c); *mindenki* can be stressed to the right of the verb whereas *őt* cannot:

- (b) Őt nézte mindenki.
 'Everybody was looking at *him*.'
- (c) *Mindenki nézte őt.
 '*Everybody* was looking at *him*.'

At the same time, however, one might ask if it is really the syntactic position that determines the syntactic status of universal quantifiers. Notice furthermore that existential quantifiers do not occupy a stressed position in Hungarian and, since linear order in T is not as decisive semantically as in F, there seems to be no reason to differentiate in T between quantifier- and non-quantifier-positions. Still, as shown by (8a) and (8b) as well as by (12)

- (8) (a) Mindenkit nem láttam.

T F

'I did not see everyone.'

- (b) Valakit nem láttam.

T F

'There was someone I did not see.'

- (12) Pétert nem láttam.

T F

'As for Peter, I did not see him.'

there is a difference in T between the logical function of existential quantifiers and that of the universal quantifiers and nominals: whereas an existential quantifier represents the broadest scope in (8b), the universal quantifier in (8a) and the noun in (12) are included in the scope of negation. This syntactic behaviour of quantifiers will motivate a reconsideration of syntactic positions.

If the filling in of different syntactic positions is responsible for generating non-synonymous sentences, the question may also come up if these syntactic positions are somehow logically correlated. As indicated by (13a) and (13b), at least for logical operations, the filling in of different positions may lead to different scope relations. In (13a) the quantifier is the operator with the broadest scope in the sentence whereas in (13b) the same operator in T must be included in the scope of some other operator ((13c) is ill-formed because the topicalised quantifier is not included in the scope of any other operator):

- (13) (a) Mindent hallottam.

F/Q

'I heard everything.'

- (b) Mindent én hallottam.

T F

'It was me who heard everything.'

- (c) * Mindent (∅) hallottam.

T F

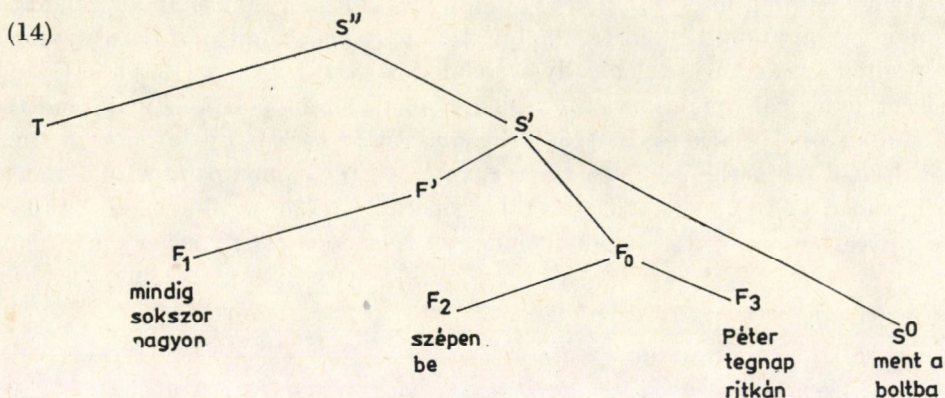
By answering these questions we shall gain new insights regarding the syntactic and semantic properties of focus and topic which will enable us to get a better grasp of certain logical scope relations as well.

2. A modification of the invariant structure

As mentioned above, É. Kiss's framework seems appropriate, by and large, for the description of logical scope relations. Consequently her basic concepts of topic and focus will be retained in this paper and modifications will only be stipulated where required.

The terms 'focus' and 'topic' will be retained in their syntactic and phonetic sense: whatever can be found to the left of the verb carrying main stress will be understood as focus, regardless of how close it is to the verb; whatever can be found between this focus and the verb will also be considered focus. As for the topic, it is the argument or group of arguments to the left of the verb that does not carry main stress and is not preceded by an argument with focus-function. (This allows for a differentiation between topic and unstressed focus.)

In Section 1 certain syntactic problems were presented to motivate a modification of F. As for position T, we saw that linear order within T did not play a syntactic role. Thus, only position F has to be modified. I am proposing the following structure of F.



The three positions for F are determined both syntactically and semantically. First of all, there is a marked syntactic difference between F_1 and F_2/F_3 : the filling in of F_1 allows for the filling in of another F to the right of it, whereas F_2 and F_3 do not, cf. (15a), (15b), and (15c):

- (15) (a) Mindig szépen megírta Péter a leckét.
 F_1 F_2 F_2
 'Peter has always written the homework nicely (properly).'

- (b) * Mindig szépen Péter írta meg a leckét.
 F_1 F_2 F_3

- (c) *¹Mindig Péter szépen írta meg a leckét.
 F₁ F₃ F₇

Roughly speaking, F₁ is the position of universal quantifiers, adverbials of frequency and degree, F₂ that of CONV's and other non-negative adverbials and F₃ that of nouns and negative adverbials. As far as the meanings of the positions are concerned, F₁ expresses universal quantification, F₂ non-contrastive verbal/sentence modification and F₃ contrastive verbal/sentence modification.

Whereas perfectiveness and contrast can only be expressed if CONV and N occupy F₂ and F₃ respectively,¹ universal quantification is not exclusively bound to F₁, cf.:

- (16) (a) ¹Kijött Péter a boltból.
 F₂
 'Peter came out of the shop.' [+ perfective]
- (b) ¹Jött ki Péter a boltból.
 'Peter was coming out of the shop.' [— perfective]
- (c) ¹Péter jött ki a boltból.
 F₃
 'It was Peter who came out/was coming out of the shop.'
 [+ contrast, — perfective]
- (17) (a) ¹Mindig rá gondolok.
 F₁ F₃
 'I always think of her.'
- (b) ¹Rá gondolok mindig.
 F₃
 'I always think of her.'

¹ We are aware of the multiplicity and complexity of interpretations of terms like 'perfective', 'imperfective' etc., and we are not going into a detailed discussion of the problem here. From Papp (cf. Papp 1980) we know that it is aspectuality rather than aspect that Hungarian expresses; for the latest results in this field see Kiefer forthcoming. F. Ackerman (present volume) claims that a verbal prefix to the left of the verb expresses but a strong semantic relation between the verb and one of its arguments. This view may also conform with the assumption that it is a relation (such as locative relation) expressed in a morpheme of an argument that is expressed by CONV in F, cf. Hunyadi 1981. Anyway, in the present article we shall use the term 'perfectivity' to mark any feature potentially expressed by CONV.

Positions F_2 and F_3 are alternatives. Since either F_1 and F_2 or F_1 and F_3 can be occupied at a time the reason for differentiating two more positions for F besides F_1 might seem questionable. But there is a syntactic argument for doing so: F_2 can contain more than one argument, whereas F_3 can only be occupied by a single argument:

- (18) Szépen megcsináltad !
 F_2 F_2
 'You have done it well.'

- (19) *Te tegnap csináltad meg.
 F_3 F_3

Since NEG is not an argument, it is not affected by this restriction:

- (20) Nem te csináltad meg.
 F_3 F_3
 'It was not you who made it.'

If one has two syntactic positions in F to the right of F_1 , the problem of assigning two opposite readings to one and the same position [+ contrast] and [- contrast] disappears. Now, F_2 is the position for non-contrastive modifiers and F_3 is the one for contrastive modifiers. Elements that bring about contrast are assigned to one position and elements that do not to another position.

It is only F_3 that can be occupied by one and only one constituent at a time, for F_1 and F_2 this does not hold. (This can be explained if we realize that F_3 brings about contrast and the two other positions do not: a statement formed with the given constituent in F_3 has to be in contrast with potential statements formed with other constituents in F_3 .) The ordering of arguments and logical elements in F_2 and F_1 is based on logical relations. Thus, CONV can only modify a verb (that is why one finds it semantically so close to the verb that it almost appears as an integral part of it) hence it cannot occupy a position that would imply that it is modifying some other elements:

- (21) (a) Szépen elolvasta a könyvet.
 F_2 F_2
 'He read the book properly.'
- (b) *El szépen olvasta a könyvet.
 F_2 F_2

Position F_1 can also be occupied by more than one word. Their ordering is again determined by internal logical relations. Thus, it is obvious that *mindig* 'always' represents an operation with a broader scope than *sokszor* 'many times'. This is expressed by the linear order of *mindig* and *sokszor* in (22a):

- (22) (a) *Mindig sokszor elolvassa a leveletem.*

F_1 F_1

'It is always the case that he reads my letter many times.'

The two meanings of *sokszor* ('many times successively' and 'many different times') can be accounted for by the syntactic relation of *sokszor* to *mindig*: If *sokszor* is included in the scope of *mindig*, then we have the meaning 'many times successively' as in (22a). If *sokszor* is not included in the scope of *mindig*, the sentence may be ambiguous, as in (22b):

- (22) (b) *Sokszor elolvassa a leveletem.*

F_1 E_2

'It is many times the case that he reads my letter.' or:

'He reads my letter many/several times successively.'

The question may arise if one could include in F_1 adverbials other than adverbials of frequency, e.g. adverbials such as *szépen* 'in a nice manner', 'properly'. The only reason for doing this, however, would be that *szépen*, too, is an adverbial. Notice, however, that whereas *sokszor* 'many times' clearly behaves as an F_1 -element allowing for the filling in of F_2 or F_3 , *szépen* does not:

- (23) (a) *Sokszor a leveletem olvassa.*

F_1 F_3

'It is often the case that he is just reading my letter.'

- (b) **Szépen a leveletem olvassa.*

F_1 F_3

In (23b) *szépen* cannot be in F_2 either, since F_2 and F_3 are alternative positions and here F_3 is already occupied by a *leveletem*, which does not allow any argument in F_2 . Thus, we may conclude that adverbials such as *szépen* cannot occupy F_1 .

As we saw it in (21a), *szépen* can occupy F_2 . On the other hand, a sentence with *szépen* (and similar adverbials) in F_3 is also wellformed:

- (21) (a) Szépen elolvasta a könyvet.

F₂ F₂

'He read the book properly.'

- (c) Szépen olvasta el a könyvet.

F₃

'The manner he read the book was proper.'

From this we may conclude that, for F₂ and F₃, it is not (only) the semantics of an element that counts but (rather) the position it occupies.

It should not be left unmentioned that F₃ can be occupied by quasi-negative elements such as *ritkán* 'rarely' as well. The reason for including them in this group is based on syntactic and semantic criteria. Syntactically, it is clear that *ritkán* if stressed (or if it is preceded by a word that carries main stress) cannot be followed by any word in any position F:

- (24) (a) Ritkán megyek moziba.

F₃

'Rarely do I go to the cinema.'

- (b) *Ritkán moziba megyek

F₃ F₃

- (25) (a) Valóban ritkán megyek moziba.

F₂ F₃

'Really, I rarely go to the cinema.'

- (b) *Valóban ritkán moziba megyek.

F₂ F₃ F₃

Even if this syntactic evidence is strong enough to assign *ritkán* to the position F₃, semantic evidence can also be adduced: sentences with a noun or adverbial of time etc. immediately left to the verb, if stressed, express the kind of restriction that negative adverbials do. *Ritkán* expresses the same kind of contrast as other arguments in F₃.

To sum up the proposed modification of the syntactic structure of F: a) similarly to É. Kiss, we set up a separate position in F to the left of the position of the contrastive focus which is most often occupied by universal expressions, this position is denoted by F₁; b) on the basis of certain semantic criteria we differentiate between two alternative positions F₂ and F₃; c) in F₁ and F₂ there may be two or more constituents at a time the ordering of which is determined by their logical (scope-) relations; d) positions F₂ and F₃

have their own semantic value (regardless by what part of speech categories occupied); e) it is not the part of speech category that determines the possible position of the word in the sentence: there are some other semantic criteria at stake to which we will turn in the next section.

3. Operators and elements

Having set up the basic syntactic positions in F let us now describe the principles according to which the characteristic semantic properties of each syntactic position can be described and the semantic/logical interrelationships between these positions can be established. First of all, some new terms have to be introduced.

We shall assume that a parallel can be drawn between an arithmetic and a linguistic expression in the sense that in the same way as an arithmetic expression consists of numbers (which have their own inherent meanings) and of arithmetic signs which represent operations on the numbers — such a relationship can also be found in linguistic expressions. Constituents of a sentence (which have their own lexical meanings) will be called elements and the relationships between the elements will be expressed by what we shall refer to as operators. Similarly to arithmetic signs that most frequently operate on multi-order numbers (which have their rather complex semantics), a linguistic operator will also most frequently operate on a group of elements already organized by grammatical means (such as predication) into a semantically more complex unit.

We shall distinguish four different types of operators: a) lexical items, b) syntactic positions, c) stress, d) intonation. Let us consider them one by one:

a) There are words whose only function is to represent some logical relation, i.e. they have no denotatum in the strict sense of the word. Here belong quantifiers, such as *az egész* 'the whole', *bár-* 'any', *vala-* 'some', the subjective modal operators *csak* 'only', *még* 'yet', *már* 'already', the conditional *ha* 'if', the imperative *-j*, the negative *nem* and some others. It is their main characteristic feature that they convey the same meaning (carry out the same operation) regardless of their position or stress. This does not mean that they can be moved to any position or that they can take any stress; but it does mean that no change in their position or stress will bring about a modification in their semantic/logical function. Thus, in (26) *mindent* 'everything' (acc.) represents universal quantification in all four variants:

(26) (a) [/]*Mindent Péter evett meg.*

F₁ F₃

'It was Peter who ate *everything*.'

(b) Péter evett meg mindent.

F₃

(the same as (26a))

(c) Péter evett meg mindent.

F₃

'It was Peter who ate everything.'

(d) Mindent Péter evett meg.

T

F₃

(the same as (26c))

(As we see the first two variants are not synonymous with the last two ones — there is a difference in scope relations which will be described later on — yet the expression of universal quantification is common in them.)

Most words which belong to type *a* can appear in F, T or even S⁰, but some of them seem to be fixed to one position such as the conditional *ha* which can only occur in T or the imperative *-j* and some other verbal morphemes which can only appear to the right of V. To be sure, if there is only one operator of the above type in a sentence, then, regardless of its position in the sentence, it operates on all the other elements.

b) Syntactic position, too is a type of operator. In order to show this, let us consider the following pair of sentences:

(27) (a) Meglátogattam a barátomat.

'I visited my friend.'

(b) A barátomat látogattam meg.

F₃

'I visited my friend.'

The difference is that whereas (27a) is a neutral sentence, (27b) expresses some contrast or restriction, since it can also be interpreted as 'I only visited my friend'. The constituent *a barátomat* allows for a contrastive context but only its movement into F₃ (as in (27b) but not in (27a)) realizes this contrast.

The same applies to so-called contrastive topic. If *a barátomat* is moved to T, we have a meaning different from (27a) or (27b):

(27) (c) A barátomat — meglátogattam.

T

F₂

'As for my friend, I visited him.'

(It might seem to be somewhat awkward to say that syntactic position itself can be an operator, since in order to determine position, intonation or stress have also to be taken into consideration. Notice, however, that the definition is based on position: if there are two unstressed words to the left of the verb that belong to two different syntactic categories, the one further on to the left of the verb is the topic and the other must be the focus, though included in the scope of another focus:

- (28) Tegn[∕]ap min[∕]denki a mérk[∕]őzésen volt.
 T F₁ F₃
 'As for yesterday, everybody was at the match.'

Both *tegnap* 'yesterday' and *a mérkőzésen* 'at the match' are unstressed yet the 'as for X' meaning of *tegnap*, as contrasted to the contrastive meaning of *a mérkőzésen*, can be accounted for by claiming that *tegnap* occupies a different syntactic position.)

c) A third type of operator is stress. There are two kinds of stress: one applies to each word of a sentence (neutral sentence); the other applies to some words only (non-neutral sentence). The latter has also a very important logical function: it identifies logical scope-relations:

- (29) (a) 'Kati 'mindenkin[∕]ek seg[∕]ít.
 'Kate helps everyone.' (neutral)

- (b) Kati min[∕]denkin[∕]ek seg[∕]ít.
 T F₁
 'As for Kate, she helps everyone.' (non-neutral)

d) The last type of operator is intonation. But intonation is accompanied by stress and sometimes stress is realized in certain positions only. How can, then, intonation be an operator by itself? The following pair of sentences shows this:

- (30) (a) A köny[∕]vet vettem meg.
 F₃
 'I bought the book.'

- (b) A köny[∕]vet vettem meg? .
 F₃
 'Did I buy the book?'

In both sentences the constituent *a könyvet* 'the book' (acc.) is in F₃ (it has the same syntactic position and stress), still, owing to the difference in intonation,

(30a) is a declarative and (30b) is an interrogative sentence. On the other hand, the same intonational pattern may be built on different syntactic structures. From the presence or lack of contrast we know that in (31a) *ő*t 'him' (which has main stress and expresses contrast) is in F_3 whereas in (31b) *lát*tad 'you saw' (which has main stress but does not express contrast cannot be in F_3 and so (31a) and (31b) have different syntactic structures. But with the same intonation pattern both of them represent a yes/no question:

(31) (a) *Ő*t láttad?

F_3

'Did you see *him*?'

(b) *Lát*tad *ő*t?

'Did you see him?'

4. The linguistic expression of logical relations

As already pointed out, it will be assumed that two sentences with different syntactic structures (different in the sense that syntactic positions are filled in in different ways) express two different logical structures. It will also be assumed that any such sentence expresses the logical structure unambiguously provided that the given sentence has an unambiguous syntactic structure. This means that if, e.g., there are not sufficient means to decide if a given word is in F_2 or F_3 then there must be more than one logical relation expressed in the sentence.

It was mentioned earlier that operators express logical relations between elements. We have also seen that the operators can be expressed in various ways. This suggests that the realization of logical relations will also vary according to the type of the given operator. Let us now see how the type of operator influences the scope relations.

The broadest possible scope must be expressed by operators whose logical scope cannot be affected by other logical operators, i.e. whose syntactic properties cannot be changed. These are the unmovable operators, those, that are bound to one and the same position, such as the verbal morphemes of the imperative, conditional, causative, the conditional *ha* 'if', etc. Since they are unmovable and cannot take different kinds of stress (this latter change would require a change in position as well) they express the broadest possible scope in the sentence. (Intonation, as we have seen, has the same properties.)

There is another type of operator whose logical function is not affected by any change of position or stress either (this function is the same in all

structural variants such as in (26a) — (26d)). On the other hand, since it can appear in various positions it will not obligatorily have the broadest scope in the sentence. These are the linguistic expressions of quantifiers. Thus, in a neutral sentence such as (32 a) and (32 b) the change in word order will not change the expression of the logical relation and the two variants are synonymous with the quantifier having the broadest scope:

- (32) (a) 'Bement 'mindenki a 'szobába.
 'Everyone entered the room.'
 (b) 'Mindenki 'bement a 'szobába.
 'Everyone entered the room.'

(This synonymy is based on the fact that between (32a) and (32b) there is no difference with respect to operators: since they are neutral sentences, intonation, stress — and thus position — do not come up as operators; and no other lexical operator — such as *ha*, *vala*- etc. — appears in either (32a) or (32b) which would make them non-synonymous.) In (32c), a non-neutral sentence, however, with *a szobába* 'the room' in F_3 and *mindenki* 'everyone' in S° , *a szobába* will have the broadest scope:

- (32) (c) A szobába ment be mindenki.
 'Everybody entered the room.'

If there are two or more operators of the same type in a sentence and their scope-relationships are not or cannot be expressed by stress or intonation (and thus position), linear order will decide the scope: the operator that precedes the other will have the broader logical scope. This is the case, for example, with all neutral sentences such as (33):

- (33) (a) 'Mindenki 'beszélhet 'bárkivel.
 'Everyone can talk anyone.'
 (b) 'Bárki 'beszélhet 'mindenkivel.
 'Anyone can talk to everyone.'

If the sentence is not neutral, the positions T and F or, at least, one of them are occupied. If this is the case, then position, stress and intonation have also to be taken into consideration as separate operators. Let us now see how scope-relations are expressed in such a non-neutral sentence.

Main stress as a distinct operator plays a decisive role here. It indicates the logical operation with the broadest scope in F. That is, if a position in F is occupied by an unstressed element one may expect to find another element in F which is stressed and represents broader scope:

- (34) (a) *Elveszíti a pénzét. (
- F_2
- is unaccented)

 F_2

'He loses his money.'

- (b) Gyakran elveszíti a pénzét.

 F_1 F_2

'He often loses his money.'

Of course, if F_1 is occupied it must always be stressed since no other argument can occur before a universal quantifier in F . On the other hand, if a universal quantifier is unstressed, it means that a) it is not in F , b) it does not have the broadest scope in the sentence, c) there must be some operation in F with a scope including the universal quantifier:

- (35) (a) Mindenkit nem láttam.

T

F

'I did not see everyone.'

- (b) Nem láttam mindenkit.

F

- (c) *Mindenkit láttam. (
- F_1
- is unaccented)

 F_1

As we can see from (35a) and (35b), that *mindenkit* 'everyone' (acc.) is included in the scope of negation is expressed by stress rather than by position. This is the characteristic feature of F_1 -operators.

So far we have discussed the various positions in F and touched upon some questions concerning T that contains *minden* 'all' (as in (35a)). We can also see, however, that there are other words in T that are not included in the scope of any other logical operators from F . Such are the existential quantifier, the conditional *ha* 'if' and some other operators:

- (36) Valaki nem jött el.

T

F

'Someone did not come.'

With these operators, since they cannot occupy other syntactic positions or take another kind of stress, it is again the linear order of operators that decides scope:

- (37) (a) Valaki látott mindenkit.

T

'Someone saw everyone.'

- (b) Mindenki látott valakit.

F₃

'Everyone saw someone.'

To be sure, there is only one syntactic position for arguments in T since a change in the order of words in T does not bring about a semantic change:

- (38) (a) Valamikor mindenki franciául akart tanulni.

T

T

F₃'There were times when everyone wanted to learn *French*.'

- (b) Mindenki valamikor franciául akart tanulni.

T

T

F₃

(the same as (38a))

In order to answer the question why the change of linear order in T is semantically indifferent we have to provide the semantic description of the position T of the modified invariant structure.

5. Topic and the expression of logical relations

First of all, cases of non-contrastive topic will be excluded from our examinations. The reason for this is the following: it is clear that contrastive topic is expressed by at least two operators: position and intonation (by changing position or intonation the contrastive meaning will be lost):

- (39) (a) A levelet — elolvastam.

T_cF₂

'As for the letter, I read it.'

- (b) Elolvastam a levelet.

F₂

'I read the letter.'

For the non-contrastive topic, such a change is semantically indifferent:

- (40) (a) A 'levelet 'elolvastam, 'aztán 'eltettem.

'I read the letter and put it aside.'

- (b) 'Elolvastam a 'levelet, 'aztán 'eltettem.

(the same as (40a))

Thus, whereas we can discover at least one distinct operator in (39a) with a clear-cut semantic function, in (40) we can find none. Consequently, in a syntax based on operators and elements non-contrastive topic need not figure as a special operator.

On the other hand, if we examine the elements in T in comparison to F, both syntactically and semantically, the following picture emerges: a) syntactically, there are words which can occupy both T and F (nouns, adverbials, CONV's, universal quantifiers) whereas others can only occupy T (existential quantifiers, the conditional *ha* and some others); b) semantically, words which can occupy both T and F, if they are in T, are felt to be strongly related to F whereas words which can only occupy T are not. We shall now, tentatively, set up two groups of words in T, one for those words occurring both in T and F and one for those occurring in T only, noting, that though they will not represent two different linear syntactic positions, this kind of differentiation within T may lead to a better understanding of the linguistic forms of the expression of logical relations.

We have just mentioned that those words from T that can, in other cases, also occupy F, are felt to be strongly related to F. Nouns, adverbials, CONV's, universal quantifiers from T are, in fact, included in the scope of some operation from F and this inclusion is just expressed by their position in T:

(41) (a) Mindenki [∕]ném ment iskolába.

T F

'Not everyone went to school.'

(b) Ném [∕]mindenki ment iskolába

F₁ F₁

'Not everyone went to school.'

(c) Ném [∕]ment iskolába mindenki.

F

'Not everyone went to school.'

The synonymy of (41a)–(41c) is based on the expression of identical scope relations. If we replace *mindenki* 'everyone' by *Péter* 'Peter', however, none of the above sentence variants will be synonymous:

(42) (a) Péter [∕]ném ment iskolába.

T F

'As for Peter, he did not go to school.'

- (b) Nem Péter ment iskolába.
 F₃ F₃
 'It was not Peter who went to school.'

- (c) Nem ment Péter iskolába.
 F
 'Peter did not go to school.'

The reason is that whereas in (41a)–(41c) *mindenki* has the same logical function (the expression of universal quantification), in (42a)–(42c) *Péter* is in logically different positions in all three sentences. To be sure, both *mindenki* and *Péter* in T express the same: a) they are included in the scope of some focus-operator (in both (41a) and (42a) the operator at hand is negation) and b) 'topic-contrast' (the indication of the relation 'p and possibly not q').

Besides the described cases where T expresses the fact that some of its elements is included in the scope of another operator we also have elements which, both syntactically and phonetically, must be assigned to T (these elements are to the left of the verb and are unstressed), yet they differ from the previous group in that they represent broader scope and do not express any 'topic-contrast'. These are words that cannot be moved to F. Here belong the existential quantifier *vala-* 'some', the conditional *ha* 'if', such operators as *még* 'yet', *már* 'already' etc.:

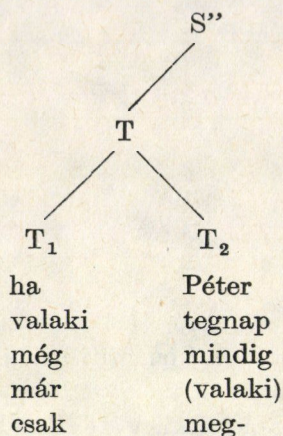
- (43) (a) Valahol mindig találkozunk.
 T F₁
 'We always meet somewhere.'

- (b) *Mindig valahol találkozunk.
 F₁ F

- (c) Mindig találkozunk valahol.
 F₁
 'We always meet somewhere.'

Thus, even if only one position T can be set up from a syntactic point of view, in order to account for some basic differences in scope relations it seems to be still reasonable to semantically differentiate between two types of topic: one type would represent logically narrower operators, the other logically broader operators. Thus, one may stipulate the following modified invariant structure for T:

(44)



T_1 and T_2 can be filled in in either order, this will not affect the logical relations. At the same time in order to convey contrast the T_2 -element has to be pronounced in such a way that the contrastive intonation starts from this very element which seems to be easier if the order of topics is T_2-T_1 :

(45) (a) Tegnep még jó idő volt.

T_2 T_1 F_3

'Yesterday, we still had a fine weather.'

(b) ?Még tegnap jó idő volt.

T_1 T_2 F_3

As for the existential quantifier, its normal position is T_1 (thus expressing the broadest scope in the sentence). Yet, in order to account for the ambiguity of (46) *Valakit mindenki látott* we must assume that *valaki* can occur both in T_1 (with broad scope) and T_2 (with narrow scope), cf. (46a) and (46b), respectively:

(46) (a) Valakit mindenki látott.

T_1 F_1

'There was someone seen by everyone.'

(b) Valakit mindenki látott.

T_2 F_3

'Everyone saw someone.'

(more than one)

6. Negation, quantification and scope

It has been pointed out that logical operations are assumed to operate in F or T (they are the only operations in F or T except for operations expressed by certain verbal morphemes). Furthermore, a) a negative particle preceding a constituent in F₁ or following a constituent in F₃ is also considered to be in F; b) since no other positions are set up before F₁ or after F₃ the negative particle is considered to form one unit with other constituents in the same position; c) following the rule according to which the scope of operators in one and the same position is determined by the linear order of operators, here, too, if NEG can have both a narrower and a broader scope within the given position, then the negative particle will follow or precede the other operator(s). Next, let us consider positions in some more detail.

In F₁ certain quantifiers allow for both a narrower and a broader scope relation with NEG (such as *az egész* 'the whole') whereas others only allow for a broader scope of NEG (such as *mind*- 'all'):

- (47) (a) Az [/]egészet nem értettem.

F₁ F₁

'I did not understand the whole.'

- (b) Ném [/]az egészet értettem, (csak egy részét.)

F₁ F₁

'I did not understand the *whole*, (only a part of it.)'

- (48) (a) *Mindent [/]nem értettem.

F₁ F₁

- (b) Ném [/]mindent értettem.

F₁ F₁

'I did not understand all.'

In F₂ CONV's tend to precede the negative particle (the other direction seems to be exceptional) whereas adverbials such as *szépen* 'in a nice manner, properly' do not include NEG in their scope:

- (49) (a) Bé [/]ne menj a szobába!

F₂ F₂

'Do not enter the room!' (strong command)

- (b) (Aztán) [/]ne bemenj a szobába!

F₂ F₂

'Why should you enter the room?!' (appr.)

(50) (a) *Szépen nem úszol.

F₂ F₂

(b) Ném szépen úszol.

F₂ F₂

'You do not swim properly.'

In F₃, NEG may have both a narrower and a broader scope:

(51) (a) A barátom nem zongorázik.

F₃ F₃

'It is my friend who does not play the piano.'

(b) Ném a barátom zongorázik.

F₃ F₃

'It is not my friend who plays the piano.'

Let us now try to explain these differences in scope-relations.

First of all, as far as the relationship of the negative particle and the universal quantifier is concerned, it should be noted that *minden* 'all' does not include a negative particle in its scope whereas other F₁-operators (such as *az egész* 'the whole', *nagyon* 'very much', *sokszor* 'many times' etc.) do. Thus, the word *minden* must have syntactic properties which call for explanation.

The question many linguists have come across with while investigating the linguistic expressions of negation and quantification is why the universal quantifier cannot have the negative particle in its scope. One may try to find particular answers for particular languages but since there are various ways of expressing scope relations it seems doubtful to give a universal answer to this question. But why should we take for granted that two different lexemes (such as *all* and *some*) should have two different logical values (one for the universal and the other for the existential quantifier)? Moreover, how could we treat, then, languages with only one lexeme for the two quantifiers?

In order to attempt to give a universal account for the phenomenon at hand, we shall put the problem in a different way: how is it marked that two lexemes such as *all* and *some* have two different values? Or in a more general way (in order to be able to account for languages with one lexeme for 'all' and 'some'): how are universal and existential quantification expressed by lexemes with a quantifier value?

We assume that the difference of logical values is expressed by the difference of logical scopes. More precisely, a word with quantifier value will

stand for the existential quantifier if and only if negation is included in the scope of the quantifier and a word with quantifier value will represent the universal quantifier if and only if negation includes quantification in its scope. In case there is no negation in the sentence the same difference in logical values can be arrived at if, in a position with the broadest logical scope, a word expressing existential quantification is left unstressed and a word expressing universal quantification receives main stress. These are the principles that determine the logical values of the Hungarian *valamennyi* that may represent both kinds of quantifiers:

(52) (a) Valamennyien eljöttek.

F₁ F₂
'All of them arrived.'

(b) Valamennyien eljöttek.

T F₂
'Some of them arrived.'

Although this regularity may be universal, in a language with two lexemes such as in English *all* and *some* there seems to be a tendency to retain the said logical difference in spite of the identity of position and/or stress:

(53) (a) Valaki nem válaszolt.

T F
'Someone did not answer.'

(b) Mindenki nem válaszolt.

T F
'Not everyone answered.' =
'Someone did not answer.'

In (53b) *mindenki*, if understood in T₂, is taken to express the universal quantifier included in the scope of negation, whereas, if understood in T₁, it is taken for the existential quantifier including negation in its scope. The two interpretations in (53b) are, naturally, equivalent. (54b) shows that *mindenki* in T stands for the universal quantifier; namely, (54b) is ill-formed because it violates the rule according to which a universal quantifier can only be in T if it is included in the scope of another operator in F which is not the case here:

(54) (a) Valaki válaszolt.

T
'Somebody answered.'

- (54) (b) *Mindenki válaszolt.
T

(As far as the other F_1 -operators — *az egész, nagyon, sokszor* — are concerned, they may include negation in their scope since they are not contrasted to any other kind of quantifier. Therefore, scope restrictions do not hold for them.)

It should be made clear that the above regularity of expressing quantifiers by choosing scope-restrictions makes it impossible for many languages to express universal negative statements by negating an existentially quantified predicate or by universally quantifying a negated predicate (these scope relations being restricted). That is why English needs, among other things, the particle *any* or Hungarian needs the so-called 'double negation' (for more detail, see Hunyadi forthcoming):

- (55) Nem vettünk semmit.
lit. not bought-we nothing
'We did not buy anything.'

As far as negation within F_2 is concerned, adverbials such as *szépen* do not allow a narrower scope negation because they have a kind of a positive inherent meaning; if we suggest something positive by putting *szépen* in F we are not supposed to violate this expectation:

- (50) (a) *Szépen nem úszol.
 F_2 F_2

On the other hand, (50b) indicates that it is not the case that the given positive statement holds:

- (b) Nem szépen úszol.
 F_2 F_2

The interrelation between CONV and NEG is relatively complex. First of all, the word order "CONV NEG" seems to be restricted to certain kinds of sentences. Thus, in a modally unmarked sentence this configuration is not permitted:

- (51) (a) *Meg nem írtam a levelet.
 F_2 F_2

The reason may be the following: the primary function of CONV in F_2 is to denote the perfectiveness of the given action, i. e. to denote that the action has taken place. Thus, if by putting CONV into F_2 we also signal that the given action has positively taken place, it would be logically inconsistent to negate it afterwards.

On the other hand, if the sentence contains a modal operator, the above configuration is permitted:

- (b) $\overset{/}{\text{Meg}} \text{ nem fogom írni a levelet!}$

$F_2 \quad F_2$

'I won't write the letter at all!'

- (c) $\overset{/}{\text{Meg}} \text{ nem írtam volna a levelet!}$

$F_2 \quad F_2$

'I would not have written the letter at all!'

- (d) $\overset{/}{\text{Meg}} \text{ ne írd a levelet!}$

'You shall not write the letter!'

Since (51a) with *meg* in F_2 and without any modal operator is ill-formed and (51b)–(51d) with *meg* in F_2 and with certain modal operators in the sentence (future, conditional, imperative) are well-formed we might expect that there is some structural relation between CONV in F_2 and the presence of modal operators in the sentence. Since all these sentences are modally emphatic (more emphatic than if CONV were not in F_2) we shall assume that the given modal operators are made emphatic by being put into position F. Since these modal operators are strongly bound to the verb (they are verbal morphemes or demand certain verbal forms) and CONV too, is, strongly bound to the verb, CONV may be the carrier of these operators in F_2 (the modal operators cannot be moved from their structurally bound positions but they are at least 'symbolically' focussed by putting CONV into F_2).

The configuration "NEG CONV" in F_2 is really exceptional. We may encounter a few examples such as (49b):

- (49) (b) $\overset{/}{\text{(Aztán)}} \text{ né bemenj a szobába!}$

$F_2 \quad F_2$

'Why should you enter the room? !' (appr.)

This sentence can only be accepted if CONV is firmly felt as part of the verb and that the whole verbal unit is negated. But, normally, CONV retains its separate semantic function and a) if the verb is to be negated then V is immediately preceded by NEG; b) if only the relation (perfectiveness etc.) expressed by CONV is to be negated then CONV is immediately preceded by NEG. But in this latter case CONV is in F_3 expressing contrast:

- (51) (e) $\overset{/}{\text{Nem megírtam a levelet, (hanem) elolvastam.}}$

$F_3 \quad F_3$

'I did not write the letter, I read it.'

(If only some aspect of an action is negated then the action may take place in some other form; or it is asserted that some action takes place; that is where contrastive meaning comes from.)

The fact that in F_3 both the configuration "NP NEG" and "NEG NP" and the corresponding scope relations are correct in any kind of sentence means that (as contrasted to the "CONV NEG" configuration) the sentence contains an operator in both configurations with which NEG can appear with a narrower and a broader scope. We shall assume that this operator is bound to the nominal part of the F_3 -constituents and can also appear in non-negated focused sentences such as (52):

- (52) $\overset{\vee}{\text{Péter}} \text{ jött el a fogadásra.}$
 F_3
 'It was Peter who came to the reception.'

This operator is expressed by both position and stress (it has to be in F_3 and to carry main stress) and its function, following Szabolcsi's term (cf. Szabolcsi 1981) is to express exhaustive listing (= EL). Thus, the semantic structure of (52) can be rendered schematically as follows:

- (52) EL [Peter came to the reception]

which means that (52) gives the exhaustive listing of statements that hold for a given world. Here, Peter is not an operator by itself it is rather the carrier of the operator EL that has to be in F_3 and — if not included in the scope of another operator — it also carries main stress. The following pair of sentences will exemplify the scope-relations between EL and NEG:

- (53) (a) $\overset{\vee}{\text{Péter}} \text{ nem jött el a fogadásra.}$
 $F_3 \quad F_3$
 'It was Peter who did not come to the reception.'
- (b) $\overset{\vee}{\text{Nem Péter}} \text{ jött el a fogadásra.}$
 $F_3 \quad F_3$
 'It does not hold that it was Peter who came to the reception.'

These interpretations can be deduced from the syntactic-semantic structure of the given sentences in the following way: in (53a) F_3 indicates exhaustive listing and EL (expressed by main stress carried by the constituent *Péter*) includes negation in its scope. Apart from being the carrier of EL, *Péter* is an ordinary argument of the verb *jött* 'came' (it has been moved to F_3 for the same reason as CONV in (51b) — (51d), namely, in order to carry certain opera-

tors). Incidentally, in (53a) EL operates on the whole statement 'Peter did not come to the reception'. In (53b), on the other hand, EL is included in the scope of NEG (main stress is taken over by the negative particle *nem* but *Péter* in F_3 still indicates the presence of EL and the linear order of these two operators suggests that NEG includes EL in its scope) and thus (53b) simply says that EL (Peter came to the reception) does not hold. (Note, that NEG and EL are "partners" from a logical point of view — both of them can include in their scope the other operator — since EL represents universal quantification. Contrastive focus containing the EL operator strongly differs from the F_2 -operators since the latter cannot be "partners" of NEG or quantifiers. Thus, (54a) is ill-formed because the quantifier in T_2 suggests that it is included in the scope of an operator from F but it cannot be included in the scope of CONV; (54b), on the other hand, is again ill-formed for the same reason but can be well-formed if CONV is in F_3 :

(54) (a) *Mindenki \acute{e} lment.
 T_2 F_2

(b) *Nem \acute{e} lment.
 T F_2

(c) Nem \acute{e} lment, hanem lefeküdt aludni.
 'He did not leave, he went to bed.'²

7. The verb and the invariant structure

Throughout this paper we have analysed positions that are to the left of the verb and suggested that these positions which are also phonetically different have their own semantic properties. Notice, however that changes in the stress of the verb, too, may bring about semantic changes in the sentence, as shown by (55a) and (55b):

(55) (a) 'Olvastam a 'levelet, amikor 'csengettek.
 'I was reading the letter when the bell rang.'

(b) (Igen,) Ólvastam a levelet.
 '(Yes,) I did read the letter.'

² In case the negative particle precedes the verb, it seems reasonable to assign NEG to F_2 , similarly to the case of V with main stress discussed in more detail in Section 7.

The semantic difference between (55a) and (55b) is that whereas (55a) is a neutral sentence, the latter needs a particular context (i.e. it is not neutral). Since the only difference between the two sentences is that the verb *olvastam* 'I read' in (55b) carries main stress whereas in (55a) it does not, main stress seems to be responsible for this difference. Main stress, on the other hand, may be the expression of a special operator. With respect to this operator at least two questions must be answered: a) what is the semantics of this operator and b) which is the position in F that is responsible for it. The two questions are related to each another.

The operator in question is different from the operations described so far: it does not mean quantification or exhaustive listing and does not denote any aspects of the action as CONV's do. The main stress on verbs represents a very subtle modal operator: it simply intensifies the content of a statement just in order to draw the listener's attention to it. This intensifier (*I*), by the way, must be among the most common operators in languages since it is very simple, its presence in the sentence does not change the logical relations but expresses a very common and essential modal attitude of the speaker. Thus, (55b) has the following semantic structure:

(55) (b) *I* [I read the letter]

where the appearance of the operator *I* is only justified if it appears in a special context: in a context which needs this kind of intensification. Thus, it may be a reply to a question "Did you read the letter?" or "Didn't you read the letter?!".

The fact that there exists an operator *I* in the form of main stress is also shown by (56):

(56) Mindenki zongorázott.
'Everybody *played* the piano.'

Since *mindenki* 'everybody' is unstressed, this fact suggests that there is an operator in F that includes *mindenki* in its scope. And in (56) it can only be the operator *I* expressed by the main stress on the verb *zongorázott* 'played the piano'.

As far as the syntactic position of *I* on verbs is concerned we shall assume that it is F_2 . Notice that it cannot be F_1 or F_3 for semantic reasons, on the other hand, it can be F_2 because F_2 is the position of verbal/sentential modifiers and, in a sense, the intensifier *I* modifies the verb and the sentence in a similar way as NEG does.

As we have seen, verbs containing the operator *I* can occupy F_2 . There are still other modal operators which are tied to the verb and which, if the verb carries main stress, can be moved to F_2 . Such is the imperative operator:

(57) (a) $\overset{\text{F}_2}{\text{Köszönj Péternek.}}$

'Do greet Peter'.

On the other hand, from general rules we know that if a constituent can be put in F then it can also be put in T. Verbs can not be exceptional in this respect:

(b) $\overset{\text{F}_3}{\text{Péternek köszönj!}}$

'Greet Peter!'

(c) $\overset{\text{T}}{\text{Köszönj}} \overset{\text{F}_3}{\text{Péternek!}}$

'Greet Peter!'

Notice that a) a movement from F to T, as a rule, is not meaning preserving as exemplified by (57a) and (57c); b) (57b) and (57c) are synonymous which means that *köszönj* 'greet' (imp.) in T₂ (it cannot be in T₁ since it also appears in F) is included in the scope of an operator which does not change logical relations: this is the operator *I* carried by *Péter*. From this we may conclude that the operator *I*, similarly to NEG, is not bound to one position; it will appear in F₂ if no other positions are occupied in F. But, since both F₁ and F₃ can carry main stress with other functions as well the presence of *I* seems far from being obvious. On the other hand, in sentences such as (55b) *Ólvastam a levelet* 'I did read the letter' *I* is the only operator in F position and is thus easy to identify. (In English there is a similar case: the presence of *do* (for the operator *I*) in an intensified affirmative sentence is semantically much more significant than *do* in a negative sentence where besides the logically "opaque" operation of intensification it functions as part of the negation.

To sum up, we assume that verbs can also occupy F if they are the carriers of certain (modal) operators. These operators can be of different types: operators of the imperative, the conditional, the interrogative and the operator of intensification (*I*). They can also occupy T (together with the verb) if they are included in the scope of some other operator from F. The only exception is the operator of yes/no questions:

(58) (a) $\overset{\text{F}_3}{\text{Péternek köszöntél?}}$

'Did you greet Peter?'

(b) $\overset{\text{T}_2}{*}\text{Köszöntél} \overset{\text{F}_3}{\text{Péternek?}}$

The reason for the ill-formedness of (58b) is this: the intonation for T_2 differs from the intonation for yes/no questions and thus the interrogative operator cannot be tied to the verb in T or the verb with this kind of interrogative operator cannot be moved to T.

8. Concluding remarks

In the present article we have made an attempt to describe certain basic semantic relations in Hungarian syntax. For this purpose the syntax based on the two major syntactic positions, T and F, as outlined by É. Kiss, has proved to be adequate. In order to make some finer syntactic and semantic distinctions we have modified the invariant structure in such a way that three positions in F are distinguished from which F_2 and F_3 can only be occupied alternatively. From a semantic point of view, two kinds of topic are distinguished. These modifications enable us a) to account for certain syntactic phenomena, in particular for the different behaviour of quantifiers, CONV's and nominals in F and b) to describe some basic means of the linguistic expression of scope relations. In addition, we have made an attempt to give a universal answer to the question why universal quantifiers may not have a broader scope than negation. We have divided the constituents of a sentence into two groups: operators and elements, followed by a description of some basic operations (their way of expression and their relationship to other operations). In this connection it was found that verbs can also be focussed if — similarly to CONV's and nominals — they are the carrier of some operator expressed by stress or position. It is assumed that the description presented in this paper sheds new light on the connections between linguistic form and semantic interpretation.

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TRACES AND TRUTHS OF RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS¹

By

I. KENESEI

1. The problems of the history and structure of English relative constructions have lately acquired paramount significance due to the part they play in arguments over crucial issues in syntactic theory. Of the recent work in this field two approaches have crystallized: one has been worked out by Noam Chomsky (1973, 1977: Chomsky and Lasnik 1977) and David Lightfoot (1979), the other by Joan Bresnan (1976, 1977) and Joan Maling (1978), among others, mainly as a criticism of the former. In this paper I will survey Chomsky's and Lightfoot's claims and will try to show to remedy some of their deficiencies by means of analyses different from what Bresnan and Maling suggest.

We shall be concerned with the following types of English relative constructions:

Infinitival relatives

- (1) (a) [NP [NP the man] [S' [COMP] *t* to fix the sink]]
- (b) (1) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP on which] to write *t*]]
- (b) (2) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP] to write on *t*]]

Restrictive relative clauses

- (2) (a) (1) [NP [NP the man] [S' [COMP who] [S *t* will fix the sink]]]
- (a) (2) [NP [NP the man] [S' [COMP that] [S *t* will fix the sink]]]
- (b) (1) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP on which] [S I write *t*]]]
- (b) (2) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP which] [S I write on *t*]]]
- (b) (3) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP that] [S I write on *t*]]]
- (b) (4) [NP [NP the paper] [S' [COMP][S I write on *t*]]]

¹ This paper is a slightly more elaborate and updated version of an argument from my dissertation *Trace Theory and Relative Clauses* (1978), where a more comprehensive analysis of relative constructions is given.

Non-restrictive relative clauses

- (3) (a) [NP [NP Peter] [S' [COMP who] [S *t* will fix the sink]]]
 (b) [NP [NP this book] [S' [COMP which] [S I am reading *t*]]]

where S' (actually S) dominates Comp(lementizer) and S, and *t* is the trace of a *wh*-phrase preposed into Comp by the transformation *Wh*-Movement. According to both Chomsky and Lightfoot, a *wh*-phrase may be deleted, which, in effect, results in the occurrence of *that* in this position in surface structure. *That* too can be omitted; this is the path along which the 'elliptical' or 'contact' relative clauses like (2 : b4) are derived. Chomsky and Lightfoot differ only in their views of the structure of the complementizer (see Appendix).

Both descriptions bring evidence from the history of English, though Chomsky's apparently has a wider range in that it takes into consideration infinitival relatives as well.

All approaches to relativization agree in assuming a feature \pm WH in the complementizer which differentiates interrogatives from other sentences whether embedded or not. The feature $+$ WH will trigger question formation in matrix sentences, and, if no *wh*-phrase is moved into Comp, it will be realized as *whether/if* in embedded sentences. Relative constructions have a $-$ WH complementizer, which, according to Chomsky and Lasnik (hereafter C and L), is filled by two constituents at one point of the derivation: after *Wh*-Movement has applied:

- (4) the person [S' [COMP who that] Bill saw *t*]

Wh-Movement is followed by a free deletion rule which will yield the surface strings in (1—2) and a set of filters which will prevent (4) to occur unchanged on the surface (for details see Appendix). C and L claim that their position is supported by "languages, including earlier stages of English" (434).

Lightfoot, on the other hand, allows only one node in the complementizer. *Wh*-deletion is followed by *that* insertion, both being optional and governed by the familiar \pm WH feature. (Again, see Appendix for a summary of rules.)

2. The arguments put forward in the following section will be based upon four problems: 1. Is the deletion of *wh*-phrases permissible? 2. How can the assumption of a transformation *Wh*-Movement account for resumptive pronouns in OE and ME? 3. Are the explanations proposed for preposition stranding in OE and ME natural enough? 4. How can the complementizer in OE and ME embedded questions and infinitival relatives be consistently analysed?

2.1. In another paper I attempted to show that C and L's reference to languages other than OE and ME as regards 'double-barrelled' complementizers is unfounded (Kenesei 1980). Relativization processes fall into two distinct strategies. One of them applies (more or less) distinct relative pronouns and in a large number of cases moves them into a distinguished position in the embedded sentence. Among the languages which belong to this Type A are Finnish, Georgian, German, Hungarian and Latin. The other strategy makes use of an ordinary anaphorical pronoun and signals the beginning of the relative clause by means of a general subordination or a specific relative marker. The anaphorical (in this case: resumptive) pronoun can be omitted, especially if, e.g., in subject or object position, i.e. high on the Accessibility Hierarchy (cf. Keenan and Comrie 1977). Languages of this Type B are, e.g., Amharic, Hebrew, Malagasy, Welsh. There are also languages which may utilize both strategies as equal options or with minor distinctions; e.g., Albanian, Czech and Swedish belong to this last Type AB.

Now none of the Type A languages allow the deletion of the relative pronoun, i.e. the equivalent of a *wh*-phrase. The possibility of such a deletion procedure does not of course arise with Type B languages. Moreover, there is a NE relative construction in which the omission of the *wh*-phrase is prohibited: non-restrictive relatives. And it is certainly not due to simple coincidence that non-restrictive relatives cannot be introduced by *that*, cf.

(5) (a) This is Peter Marshall, whom you met at the theatre last night.

(b) *This is Peter Marshall, $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{that} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ you met at the theatre last night.

Thus if there is no Type A language which deletes *wh*-phrases and if English does not have an overall rule of *wh*-deletion, we have every reason to suppose English to be a Type AB language.

Non-restrictives served to show that certain contexts prohibit the replacement of *wh*-phrases by *that*/ \emptyset . There are, however, other contexts where the prohibition works in the opposite direction, i.e. which display Type B characteristics, cf.

(6) (a) This is the way in which he did it.

(b) This is the way $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} * \text{which} \\ \text{that} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ he did it.

(Note that the deletion of a complex *wh*-phrase, e.g., Prep + *wh*, is disallowed.)

- (7) (a) Every man $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *who \\ that \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ there was disagreed.
- (b) That's all $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *which \\ that \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ there is.

In short, *wh*-relatives are Type A phenomena, while *that* and zero relatives are derived through a Type B strategy and let us assume for the time being with Bresnan that resumptive pronouns are deleted all through in NE.

2.2. Resumptive pronouns did, however, surface in OE and ME, and still do in some NE dialects, cf. Jespersen (1928) and:

- (8) (a) *ðær gelyfan sceall Dryhtnes dome se ðe hine deað nimeð*
 then trust must the Lord's judgement he that him death takes
 (Beowulf; Visser I: 522)
- (b) There was also a Nonne, a Prioressse,
 That of *hir* smyling was ful simple and coy
 (i.e. whose smile; Chaucer, F. T.)

Wh-Movement from the position of the relativized NP cannot leave behind a 'full blown' pronoun; at most it may leave a trace. But, as all trace theorists insist, a trace can have no phonetic 'outcome, i.e. it cannot be realized as a pronoun.

The occurrence of these resumptive pronouns closely follows Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) and, predictably enough, are found mostly towards the bottom of the AH (e.g., in oblique and genitive cases) and in multiply embedded relative clauses (such as *This is the man that I thought you talked to HIM*).

Whichever interpretation of *Wh*-Movement one is to choose to describe this phenomenon, either no morpheme at all or a trace must take the original position of the *wh*-phrase in the tree. But neither is an adequate source for an essentially anaphorical, pronoun in that position. Undoubtedly, *Wh*-Movement is incapable of handling this type of construction. The only possible way out consists in allowing a full blown (anaphorical) pronoun to be generated 'in place' without any kind of movement involved. Then, in order to prevent the application of theoretically objectionable unbounded deletion rules (Bresnan 1976, 1977), the phonetically null anaphorical constituent PRO could be inserted by the rules of the base wherever there is a 'gap' in the relative clause, as prescribed by the AH for the language in question. PRO is assigned control by the rules of construal, i.e. its antecedent is determined (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1977).

2.3. The above analysis of *that*-relatives will provide a convenient solution to the problem of the prohibition of preposition stranding in OE and ME, which has, for some time, been an intriguing topic in the debate between pro-deletionists like Bresnan and trace theorists like Chomsky and Lightfoot.

The term preposition stranding refers to operations as a result of which prepositions are left without the phrase they are syntactically in construction with; cf.

(9) (a) What are you dealing with *t*?

(b) the topic $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{which} \\ \text{that} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ you are dealing with *t*

(where *t* is trace of the *wh*-phrase moved). In addition to these standard examples, we may also regard the following type of passive constructions as a case of preposition stranding:

(9) (c) this topic has been dealt with *t*

especially because they undergo movement.

Now in OE and ME (or at least in Chaucer's language) the following paradigm obtained:

- (10) (a) this bok of which (that) I make mencioun
 (b) this bok that I make mencioun of
 (c) *this bok which (that) I make mencioun of
 (d) *this bok of that I make mencioun

In other words, preposition stranding was allowed only if *that* (alone) was the complementizer: in (10b). (The ungrammaticality of (10d) is afforded an explanation which is of no immediate relevance here.)

It is not necessary to dwell long upon rival analyses proposed in the literature (Bresnan 1976; Chomsky and Lasnik 1977; Maling 1978; Jan Vat 1978) since the trace theorists engaged in the argument do not query the well-foundedness of an all-embracing *Wh*-Movement, so their central problem is merely how to formulate a filter which is local and can still refer to a *wh*-phrase far removed from the subtree which contains the preposition. (The requirement that filters are local means that "they consider only the properties of some continuous construction"; Chomsky and Lasnik 1977, 489.)

If, however, the suggestion that the two types of relatives should be kept separate in English is accepted, it is then possible to formulate a local filter for OE and ME with no difficulty:

(11) *[P t]

where *P* stands for preposition and *t* for trace. This filter will prohibit any construction which contains a preposition stranded as a result of movement only. Thus it will block *wh*-questions, *wh*-relatives and passives of the kind of (9a–c). But it will permit *that*-relatives containing stranded prepositions since there the preposition is followed by PRO rather than trace. In other words, P–PRO sequences will go through the filter. Note also that the filter correctly “predicts” that no dangling preposition is allowed in passives, a situation which lasted well into ENE.²

2.4. There was a tendency from OE on to ME marked by the growing number of *wh*-phrase + *that* constructions in relatives and embedded interrogatives which lost its force in LME or ENE, so much so that such constructions have been obsolete for centuries now. Examples abound:

- (12) (a) a compas *which þat* contenith a large brede (Chaucer, Astr.)
 (b) only the sight of hire *whom that* I serve (Chaucer, K. T.)
 (c) the gode man, *whose that* the place is (Chaucer, S. T.)

But it is important to note that, except for the zero conjunction, surface complementizers currently in use in English were applied with high frequency, cf.

- (13) And right at the entring of the tounes ende,
To which this Somnour shoop him for to wende,
 They saugh a cart, *that* charged was with hey,
Which that a carter droof forth in his way. (Chaucer, F. T.)

Chomsky and Lasnik extrapolate ME ‘double-barrelled’ complementizers to all the relative constructions and all of the stages of the history of English by assuming that they underlie every instance of relativization.

Complementizers are marked as + or –WH according to whether or not they introduce interrogatives, and this is the point where trouble is in sight. For if +WH is to underlie *whether* (with the rest of the complementizer left empty) and –WH *that*, how could the following, fairly common, ME sentences be derived?

- (14) (a) ye desire to knowe *whedyr that* I shulde abide here still or nowe
 (Paston Letters)
 (b) men shal wel knowe *who that* I am (Caxton)

² I am aware that according to recent research PRO cannot be governed. If that were the case, the data would incline us to believe that Bresnan’s approach fares better than Chomsky’s or Lightfoot’s.

(15) (a) he næfdon hlaf to etanne
they not-had bread to eat (OE Gosp., Visser II: 987)
(b) Every pyler the temple to sustene was tonne greet (Chaucer, Visser II: 981)
(c) they haddē no space for to ete (Wyclif, Visser II: 986)
(d) make ȝe redi a hors for poul to ride on (Wyclif, Visser II: 988)

(16) (a) *they hadden no space $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{which} \\ \text{where} \end{array} \right\}$ (for) to ete
 (b) *make 3e redi a hors $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{which for poul to ri} \\ \text{on which for poul to} \end{array} \right\}$

In OE, subordinate clauses could not simply take a preposition as a conjunction — contrary to NE usage (but note *in that*, *save that*, etc.) The general pattern was a complex phrase consisting of a preposition, a demonstrative (in the appropriate case), and a clause introduced by the complementizer *þe*, cf.

- However, these complex phrases were not all part of the complementizer as Lightfoot mistakenly assumes (324). They must have conformed to the regular structure of prepositional phrases:

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It is characteristic of all the prepositions which later developed into conjunctions what the OED has to say about one of them: "The use of *for* as a conj. has not been found earlier than the 12th c. The older lang. supplied the place of the conj. by locutions in which *for* prep. governed a neuter demonstrative pronoun followed by a relative particle: *for ðon ðe, for ðy ðe, etc.*" (1047)

But the complementizer *ðe* was rarely used with 'true' conjunctions (e.g., *though, if*) and never in embedded questions in OE. We may conjecture that the pattern (18) was first extended over adverbial clauses introduced by *if, though, when, etc.* with the conjunction in the preposition 'slot' but of course without a demonstrative to yield ME sentences like

- (19) (a) *gif that shrewdness maketh wretches* (Chaucer, Boeth.)
 (b) *Thogh that I pleylnly speke in this mateere* (Chaucer, G. P.)
 (c) *whan that they were seke* (ibid.)

Then the pattern spread over embedded questions, in this case indeed reduplicating the complementizer, which now contained a +WH constituent 'reserved' for *wh*-phrases and a -WH to be realized as *that*. Finally, since question words and *wh*-relative pronouns were indistinguishable, the pattern of double complementizers was applied in tensed relative clauses as well. However, it never overruled the old simple complementizer: the two structures were used side by side all during ME, and, moreover, infinitival relatives were never subdued.

3. This paper is not meant as one providing conclusive evidence for the case of simple complementizers. But I believe it does give an alternative account of the history of English relative constructions in terms of syntactic theory. It would be hard, though not impossible, to conceive of two radical changes in the syntax of relativization, one from OE to ME, the other from ME to NE, but it is simply not necessary if the arguments above are tenable. Then all along its history, English would be a Type AB language with an interlude in ME, when one of the strategies it has been applying (*viz. Wh-Movement*) was partly influenced by the short-lived phenomenon of double complementizers in embedded questions.

Appendix

A. Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977) rules of relativization

Base rules

1. S' → COMP S Note: S can be analysed also as *NP to VP*
 2. COMP → $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \pm \text{WH} \\ \text{for} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ \emptyset stands for zero complementizer
 as in: John expects [S' \emptyset Mary to win]

3. $-WH \rightarrow \text{that}$
4. $+WH \rightarrow \text{whether}$

Transformations

5. *Wh*-Movement: Place the *wh*-phrase in the Comp position to the left of the complementizer.
6. Deletion in Comp: In the domain of Comp, delete $[\alpha\varphi]$, where α is an arbitrary category and φ an arbitrary structure.

Filters

7. a. $*[\text{COMP } wh\text{-phrase } \varphi]$, $\varphi \neq e$ Note: *e* stands for lexically unfilled node (e.g. trace) which must undergo control.
- b. $*[\alpha\text{NP to VP}]$, unless α is adjacent to and in the domain of a verb or *for*, or $\alpha = \text{NP}$
- c. $*[\alpha\text{NP tense VP}]$, unless $\alpha \neq \text{NP} \dots$
- d. $*[\text{for} - \text{to}]$

Sample derivations

(1)	[NP the person [S' [COMP that] [S Bill saw who]]]	Initial phrase marker
		Rule applied
(2)	[NP the person [S' [COMP who that] [S Bill saw <i>t</i>]]]	T5
(3)	(a) the person who Bill saw	
	(b) the person that Bill saw	T6
	(c) the person Bill saw	
(4)	*the person who that Bill saw	F7a
(5)	*[NP the person saw you] is my friend	F7c
(6)	[NP the man [S' [COMP for] [S who to fix the sink]]]	IPM
(7)	[NP the man [S' [COMP who for] [S <i>t</i> to fix the sink]]]	T5
(8)	the man to fix the sink	T6
(9)	(a) *the man who for to fix the sink	F7a, F7d
	(b) *the man who to fix the sink	F7b
	(c) *the man for to fix the sink	F7d

B. Lightfoot's (1979) rules of relativization

Base rules

1. $S' \longrightarrow \text{COMP } S$
2. $\text{COMP} \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{PP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{Conj} \\ \dots \end{array} \right) \pm \text{WH}$

Transformations

3. *Wh*-Movement

[COMP] X wh \Rightarrow 3 2 *t*

4. *Wh*-Deletion

[NP NP wh X] \Rightarrow 1 \emptyset 3

5. *That*-Insertion

[COMP] \Rightarrow *that*

Sample derivations

	Rule applied
(1) [NP the woman [S' [COMP NP —WH] [s you met who]]]	IPM
(2) [NP the woman [S' [COMP who] [s you met <i>t</i>]]]	T3 from (1)
(3) [NP the woman [S' [COMP] you met <i>t</i>]]]	T4 from (2)
(4) [NP the woman [S' [COMP that] you met <i>t</i>]]]	T5 from (3)

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WHAT IS POSSIBLE IN HUNGARIAN?¹

By

F. KIEFER

1. In most well-known languages expressions of 'can' and 'must' are notoriously ambiguous. Depending on the context they can receive an epistemic, deontic, circumstantial, dispositional or boulomaic reading (to mention only the most frequent types of modality). In Hungarian there is a verbal suffix *-hat/-het* which is used to express possibility. I will start out with the description of the various uses of this suffix. The bulk of the paper will, however, be devoted to the discussion of a series of linguistic properties which may help us to keep apart the various uses of *-hat/-het*. It will be argued that in quite a few cases no special (extra-sentential) context is needed in order to determine the modality of the sentence. The properties to be discussed include focus, negation, question formation, conditional, word order, agenthood, tense and paraphrasability. It will also be shown that there is one use of *-hat/-het* that contrasts sharply with all other uses. This use will be termed subjective possibility. Subjective possibility is related to epistemic possibility but it is in no way identical with it.

2. Let us first have a look at the various uses of *-hat/-het*².

¹ Comments on an earlier version of this paper by Manfred Bierwisch, Iván Fónagy, Robert Hetzron, Angelika Kratzer, Ilona Molnár, Katalin Radics and Tamás Szende have helped me much — directly or indirectly — to get a better grasp of Hungarian possibilities. My thanks must go to them. The responsibility for the remaining mistakes and unclarities is, of course, mine.

² One may wonder, of course, whether I have taken into consideration all uses of *-hat/-het*. It is very likely that I have not. I do hope, however, that I have considered the most salient and most important uses of *-hat/-het*. Hungarian grammar books generally discuss the epistemic, deontic and dispositional uses of this suffix. No mention is made of circumstantial and boulomaic possibility, however. Subjective possibility is often confounded with epistemic possibility.

2.1. Epistemic possibility

The suffix *-hat/-het* can be used to express the fact that a certain state of affairs is possible (not excluded) on the basis of what we know about the world. This use is generally referred to as *epistemic possibility*. For example,

- (1) (a) Holnap *eshet* az eső.
lit. tomorrow fall-can the rain
'It can rain tomorrow.'³
- (b) Anna *meghalhat* 1985-ben.
lit. Ann perf-pref -die-can 1985-in
'Ann can die in 1985.'

The italicized constituent bears main stress; we will omit reference to main stress where no confusion in interpretation may arise.

Notice that nothing in particular speaks for the occurrence of the state of affairs described by (1a) or (b). What these sentences mean is roughly this: it is not excluded that it will rain tomorrow and it is not excluded that Ann will die in 1985 but it is equally possible that it will not rain tomorrow and that Ann will not die in 1985.

2.2. Subjective possibility

The suffix *-hat/-het* may indicate probability, i.e. that a certain state of affairs is very likely to occur (to have occurred) in view of what we know or believe about the world. We may have good reasons to believe that a certain state of affairs holds rather than another one. Our conclusion is not so much based on firm knowledge but rather on certain experiences or on what one considers to be the normal course of events. This use of *-hat/-het* may be termed *subjective possibility*. Consider

³ A note of warning is in order here. It is not easy to provide idiomatic translations of the various uses of *-hat/-het* and at the same time indicate how Hungarian works. The suffix *-hat/-het* has to be rendered in English in some cases by *can*, in other cases by *may* and there are cases where the appropriate translation is *should*, *could* or *must*. In order to facilitate understanding sometimes the less idiomatic or formal *can* will be used instead of *may*. In other cases we shall render *-hat/-het* by the 'inferential' *could* though *must* would be a closer translation.

- (2) (a) Péter az *iskolában* lehet.
 lit. Peter the school-in be-can
 'Peter must be at school.'⁴
- (b) Anna *levelet* írhatott.
 lit. Ann letter-acc write-can-past
 'Ann must have been written a letter.'

That is, on the basis of what I can gather the most likely place where Peter is at present is at school and, similarly, on the basis of what I can gather I draw the conclusion that Ann is most likely to have been engaged in letter-writing.

It is quite clear that subjective possibility, too, is linked up with a certain epistemic state but it differs from epistemic possibility, among other things, in that it is not based on a set of true propositions representing knowledge.

2.3. Deontic possibility

The suffix *-hat/-het* may also express the fact that something is possible in view of certain laws, regulations, norms, conventions, etc. This use of *-hat/-het* is usually called *deontic possibility*. Consider

- (3) (a) Itt parkolhatsz.
 lit. here park-can-you
 'Here you can park.'
- (b) Ezzel az útlevéllal a legtöbb országba
 lit. this-with the passport-with the most country-in
 vízum nélkül utazhatsz.
 visa without travel-can-you
 'With this passport you can travel to most countries without a visa.'

The interpretation of these sentences is obvious. (3a) means that according to the traffic laws you are allowed to park your car on the place referred to by 'here' and (3b) means that according to certain international conventions you don't need a visa to most countries if you are the holder of a certain passport.

⁴ Without providing an elaborate context it seems to be particularly difficult to formulate the English equivalents of subjective possibility. I have used the 'inferential' *could* or the 'subjective' *must* for this purpose. But one might get a better understanding of the meaning of the Hungarian sentences expressing subjective possibility by replacing the modal verb by a modal adverbial such as *perhaps* or *probably* in the English translation. Cf. also fn. 20.

2.4. Circumstantial possibility

The suffix *-hat/-het* may be used to express the fact that something is possible due to certain circumstances. This use may be referred to as *c i r c u m s t a n t i a l p o s s i b i l i t y*. For example,

- (4) (a) Ott sokat pihenhetsz.
lit. there much rest-can-you
'There you can rest a lot.'
- (b) Vidéki házában nyugodt körülmények között
country house-his-in calm circumstances under
megírta a könyvét.
perf-pref -write-can-past-you the book-his-acc
'In his country house he could write his book in peace and quiet.'

That is, (4a) means that the circumstances at the place referred to by 'there' are such that you can rest a lot and (4b) means that the circumstances in the country house of the person referred to by 'his' were such that this person could write his book in peace and quiet. In other words, things can be made possible by circumstances. Circumstantial possibility should by no means be confounded with deontic possibility: the two possibilities have quite different paraphrases, as we shall see later on.

2.5. Boulomaic possibility

In the following sentences the suffix *-hat/-het* is used to express somebody's wishes.

- (5) (a) Pétert választhatnánk elnöknek.
lit. Peter-acc elect-can-cond. -we president-for
'We could elect Peter president.'
- (b) Anna megtanulhatna angolul.
lit. Ann perf pref -learn-can-cond English
'Ann could learn English.'

That is, (5a) means that in view of what the speaker desires Peter could be elected president and (5b) means that in view of what the speaker desires Ann could learn English.

Notice that in (5a)–(b) the conditional forms of *can* are used. This is rather typical with wishes. The modality at hand will be called *b o u l o m a i c p o s s i b i l i t y*.

2.6. Dispositional possibility

In certain cases the suffix *-hat/-het* may also express the fact that something is possible in view of somebody's dispositions (or capabilities). Consider

- (6) (a) Amennyire megítélhetem, a jelen helyzet
 lit. extent-to perf pref judge-can-I the present situation
 katasztrófához vezet.
 catastrophe-to leads
 'As far as I can judge, the present situation will lead to a catastrophe.'
- (b) Ha megtanulhatnám ma a leckét, holnap szabad
 lit. if perf pref-learn-can-cond - I today the lesson-acc tomorrow free
 lennék.
 be-cond-I
 'If I could learn the lesson today, I would be free tomorrow.'

The modal clause in (6a) can be paraphrased by 'As far as I am able to judge, ...' and the one in (6b) by 'If I were able to learn the lesson today, ...'. This use of the suffix *-hat/-het* will be referred to, as *dispositional possibility*.

2.7. Dissociating possibility

A particular use of *-hat/-het* is exemplified by the sentences (7a)–(b):

- (7) (a) Tőlem elmehetsz moziba.
 lit. from-me perf pref-go-can-you cinema-to
 'I don't care, you can go to the cinema.'
- (b) Tőlem elveheted Annát feleségül.
 lit. from-me perf pref-take-can-you. Ann-acc wife-as
 'I don't care, you can marry Ann.'

The meaning of the modal in (7a)–(b) can roughly be paraphrased as follows: 'X can do whatever he wants to, he need not take into consideration Y's views'. This meaning is dependent on the presence of a phrase such as *tőlem* 'I don't care' (compare also the German 'von mir aus' which comes closer to what is meant by the Hungarian *tőlem*) or some other equivalent expression, e.g. *Csinálhatsz, amit akarsz!* 'You can do whatever you want to'. Other forms of the dissociating phrase *tőlem* are equally possible: *tőled* 'you don't care', *tőle* 'he doesn't care', etc. Whatever the actual phrase is the dissociating use of

-hat/-het (termed dissociating possibility) requires an explicit indication of the 'dissociation'. In addition, sentences such as (7a)—(b) are pronounced with a special intonation which does not coincide with any other intonation pattern applied in modal sentences. Notice furthermore that sentences (7a)—(b) cannot be negated, that is, one cannot say 'I don't care, you cannot go to the cinema', or the like, which shows clearly that dissociating possibility is quite different from deontic possibility. It should also be pointed out that the corresponding sentences formed with *kell* 'must' instead of *-hat/-het* do not work either, they are ungrammatical. However, as soon as we negate *kell*, the sentences become grammatical. Consider

- (8) (a) *Tőlem el kell menned moziba.
 lit. from-me perf pref must go-you cinema-to
 'I don't care, you must go to the cinema.'
 (b) Tőlem nem kell elmenne moziba.
 'I don't care, you need not go to the cinema.'

These properties of the dissociating use of *-hat/-het* show that we have to do here with a particular use of this suffix. In what follows we shall have nothing more to say about dissociating possibility.

2.8. Conformistic obligation

Sentences (9a)—(c) exemplify what one could call *conformistic or reparatory obligation*.⁵

- (9) (a) Most kezdhetem előlről.
 lit. now begin-can-I beginning-from
 'Now I have to do it all over again.'
 (b) Most mehetsz a tisztítóba.
 lit. now go-can-you the cleaner-in
 'Now you have to go to the cleaner's.'

In the cases at hand something has misfired and therefore something must be done to repair it. That is, (9a)—(b) express necessity rather than possibility. (9a)— may be used in a situation in which, for example, I have made a mistake and therefore I have to do the thing all over again. Similarly, (9b) may be used in a situation in which the addressee has made a spot on his cloth, for example, and therefore he has to go to the cleaner's. Notice, however, that nothing hap-

⁵ These terms have been suggested to me by Robert Hetzron (personal communication).

pens if he doesn't do the things expressed by (9a)–(b) except that the original state will not be restored or the mistake made will not be repaired. Of course, the speaker thinks that this should be done, i.e. that the original state should be restored or the mistake made should be repaired. That is, what is underlying (9a)–(b) is something like (10):

- (10) The speaker thinks that Y should be done since X has happened which has upset the normal order of things.

In the case of conformistic obligation we are thus faced with something which comes very close to a cause-effect relation which is based on convention.

The conformistic obligation interpretation of *-hat/-het* is not always possible. The event that brings about the obligation must be referred to either in the sentence itself or in the immediately preceding context. In (9a)–(b) the adverbial *most* 'now' refers to such a previous event. Characteristic types of sentences in which the conformistic obligation reading of *-hat/-het* prevails are conditionals and coordinated structures that admit the cause-effect interpretation. For example,

- (11) (a) Ha hibát követek el, kezdhetem előlről.
lit. if mistake-acc make-I perf pref begin-can-I beginning-from
'If I make a mistake, I have to do it all over again.'
(b) Hibát követtem el és kezdhetem az egészet
mistake-acc make-past-I perf pref and begin-can-I the whole-acc
előlről.
beginning-from
'I have made a mistake and I have to do it all over again.'

The conformistic obligation interpretation of *-hat/-het* seems to work in all cases in which deontic modality is possible. The suffix *-hat/-het* can in most cases be replaced by *kell* 'must' without radically changing the meaning of the sentence. Thus, it is quite possible that conformistic obligation could most appropriately be handled within deontic modality.

In what follows conformistic obligation will be left out of consideration. I shall be concerned with epistemic, subjective, deontic, dispositional, boulo-maic and circumstantial modalities only. Before embarking on the discussion of the linguistic properties of these modalities in Hungarian, I shall have to say a few words about the logical treatment of modality.

3. The notions of 'necessarily true proposition' and 'possibly true proposition' are well-known in traditional logic.⁶ A proposition is necessarily true or

⁶ Cf., for example, Carnap 1956.

necessarily false if its truth or falsity does not depend on the way the world actually is, that is, if its truth or falsity is already guaranteed by the very meaning of the proposition. On the other hand, a proposition is possibly (or contingently) true if it is not necessarily false and it is possibly false if it is not necessarily true. Though they represent distinct categories, necessity and possibility are not independent notions. Either one can be eliminated in favor of the other one. If we denote the necessity operator by \Box and the possibility operator by \Diamond we may formulate the relationship between necessity and possibility as follows:

- (12) (a) $\Box p = \text{def } \sim \Diamond \sim p$
 (b) $\Diamond p = \text{def } \sim \Box \sim p$

In modal logic parlance one may say that p is necessarily true (false) if it is true (false) in all possible worlds and p is possibly true (false) if there is a possible world in which p is true (false). The type of modality which is exclusively concerned with the necessary or contingent truth of propositions is often referred to as logical or alethic modality. Examples for alethic modality with *must* and *can* are given in (13).

- (13) (a) Cats must be animals.
 (b) It cannot be the case that cats are not animals.
 (c) Cats can be dangerous.
 (d) It is not necessarily the case that cats are not dangerous.

The propositions *Cats are animals* is analytic, hence necessarily true. (13a) is equivalent with (13b) on the basis of (12a). On the other hand, the proposition *Cats are dangerous* is not analytic (it is contingent), hence possibly true. Again, (13c) and (d) are equivalent (on the basis of (12b)).

Alethic modality is a central notion in classical logic, in ordinary language, however, it is rather peripheric.⁷ Clear cases of alethically modal sentences do not occur frequently in everyday discourse. From the point of view of linguistic analysis the types of modality that have become the central notions of new branches in logic (deontic, epistemic and doxastic logic)⁸ or that have received some attention in recent works on modality

⁷ This is particularly true of alethic *must*. Analytic sentences have received much attention in logic for various reasons but they are much less interesting from a linguistic point of view. The notion of alethic *can*, on the other hand, is in a way too broad since it covers in principle all contingent statements.

⁸ For an introduction to the logical treatment of the various types of modality, see Hughes & Cresswell 1968, and for a logical discussion of epistemic and doxastic modalities, see Hintikka 1962. For a more linguistically oriented analysis, cf. Kratzer 1977, 1978, 1981, and for a general discussion of various problems concerning linguistic modality (including the distinctions between alethic, epistemic and deontic modality), cf. Lyons 1977.

(dispositional, boulomaic and circumstantial modalities)⁹ are much more important. In what follows we shall discuss some of these notions.¹⁰

3.1. Epistemic modality

Epistemic must and *epistemic can* both lead to contingent propositions, i.e. not only $\Diamond p$ (as in alethic logic) but also $\Box p$ depends on what the world is like. In addition, however, they also depend on our knowledge about the world. *Epistemic must* and *epistemic can* may be defined in the following fashion.

- (14) (a) 'In view of what is known $\Box p$ ' means *epistemic must*.
 (b) 'In view of what is known $\Diamond p$ ' means *epistemic can*.

These definitions are equivalent with the definitions that make use of the concepts of 'possible world' and 'accessibility'.¹¹ Quite generally, one may say that for a proposition to be necessarily true means that p is true in all possible worlds that meet a certain condition. Such possible worlds (i.e. possible worlds meeting a certain condition) are called accessible possible worlds. That is, p is necessary iff p is true in all accessible worlds. Depending on the conditions imposed on the (accessible) possible worlds we may get various necessity operators. Similarly, one may say that p is possible iff there is at least one accessible world in which p is true. And again, one may arrive at various possibility operators depending on the conditions imposed on possible worlds.¹²

In the case of alethic modality it holds that all possible worlds are accessible from any possible world.

As for epistemic modality, given a possible world w , those possible worlds w_i are accessible from w that are identical with respect to certain facts (what somebody knows to be the case).

⁹ Cf. especially works by A. Kratzer (Kratzer 1977, 1978, 1981).

¹⁰ The following definitions are close paraphrases of the corresponding definitions given by Kratzer 1978. Kratzer assumes that the basic meaning of *must* and *can* is always the same, i.e. *must* expresses necessity and *can* possibility. What changes is the background. The background contains a set of propositions representing knowledge, rules, dispositions, etc. This background is referred to by the 'in view of . . .' -clauses in the definitions. That something is possible means that it is compatible with the given background and that something is necessary means that it follows from the given background. Circumstantial possibility is not mentioned in Kratzer 1978.

¹¹ Cf. Kratzer 1978, 111 for a formal characterization of the 'in view of . . .' -clauses for epistemic and deontic modalities and 157–164 for the proof that background and accessibility relations are equivalent. Kratzer claims in addition that the notion of background can help us to solve certain logical problems which cannot be solved by means of accessibility relations, hence her treatment is superior to the approach advocated in traditional modal logic (cf. 167–181).

¹² Cf. Lewis 1973 for the interpretation of various modalities in terms of possible worlds.

Sentences (15a)–(d), given the epistemic background, are examples for *epistemic must* and *epistemic can*, respectively.

- (15) (a) John must be in Stockholm.
 (b) It cannot be the case that John is not in Stockholm.
 (c) John can be in Stockholm.
 (d) It is not necessarily the case that John is not in Stockholm.

The proposition *John is in Stockholm* is evidently contingent, hence *must* in (15a) cannot be alethic. On the other hand, *can* in (15c) comes rather close to alethic *can*.

It goes without saying that (15a) and (b) are equivalent. The same holds for (15c) and (d).

Notice that the definition of *epistemic can* given in (14b) can be made use of in describing epistemic possibility. That is, sentences (1a)–(b) express epistemic possibility in the sense of epistemic logic.

3.2. Deontic modality

In the case of deontic modality the set of possible worlds is the set of all worlds in which everybody acts according to some moral or legal system. Though in deontic logic laws and moral systems have been considered in the first place, in everyday life dependency relations between individuals as well as various conventions, too, bring about obligations. We shall adopt the following definitions.

- (16) (a) 'In view of certain obligations $\Box p$ ' means *deontic must*.
 (b) 'In view of certain obligations $\Diamond p$ ' means *deontic can*.

Evidently, there are various types of obligation, hence various types of deontic logic.

Given a deontic background, the following examples express deontic modality:

- (17) (a) John must go to Stockholm.
 (b) It is not the case that John need not go to Stockholm.
 (c) John can go to Stockholm.
 (d) It is not the case that John cannot go to Stockholm.

The equivalences (12a)–(b) are evidently valid for deontic modality as well. Thus, (17a) is equivalent with (17b) and (17c) with (17d).

Once again, logic may help us to account for some linguistic phenomena. The modality expressed by sentences (3a)–(b) is closely related to the deontic possibility of deontic logic.

3.3. Dispositional modality

The possible worlds considered here are those worlds in which somebody's dispositions (capabilities) are the same. We shall adopt the definitions (18a)–(b).

- (18) (a) 'In view of somebody's dispositions $\Box p$ ' means *dispositional must*.
 (b) 'In view of somebody's dispositions $\Diamond p$ ' means *dispositional can*.

In view of John's dispositions the following sentences express dispositional modality.

- (19) (a) John must sneeze.
 (b) It is not the case that John need not sneeze.
 (c) John can sneeze.
 (d) It is not the case that John cannot sneeze.

(19a) is equivalent with (19b) and (19c) is equivalent with (19d), as expected.

The definition of *dispositional can* may be made use of for the description of dispositional possibility as expressed by sentences such as (6a)–(b).

3.4. Circumstantial modality

The accessible worlds are those worlds in which the circumstances under which somebody is acting in a certain way are the same. This modality can be defined in the following fashion.

- (20) (a) 'In view of certain circumstances $\Box p$ ' means *circumstantial must*.
 (b) 'In view of certain circumstances $\Diamond p$ ' means *circumstantial can*.

Given certain circumstances the following sentences may express circumstantial modality:

- (21) (a) John must walk every day.
 (b) It is not the case that John need not walk every day.
 (c) John can walk every day.
 (d) It is not the case that John cannot walk every day.

Once again, the equivalences (21a)–(b) and (21c)–(d) are valid, as expected.

No doubt, *circumstantial can* may be used to model the circumstantial possibility as expressed by sentences such as (4a) and (b).

3.5. Boulomaic modality

The accessible worlds are those worlds in which somebody's desires are the same. Boulomaic modality may be defined in the following fashion.

- (22) (a) 'In view of somebody's desires $\Box p$ ' means *boulomaic must*.
 (b) 'In view of somebody's desires $\Diamond p$ ' means *boulomaic can*.

In view of the speaker's desires the following sentences may express boulomaic modality:

- (23) (a) John must be our leader.
 (b) It is not the case that John need not be our leader.
 (c) John can be our leader.
 (d) It is not the case that John cannot be our leader.

(23a) is thus interpreted as meaning that the speaker wants very strongly to have John as leader: he uses *must* to express his desire. In the case of (23c) John's becoming the leader is compatible with the speaker's desires.

As expected, (23a) is equivalent with (23b) and (23c) is equivalent with (23d).

It will be seen that a modal system based on the definitions (22a)—(b) cannot be used to describe boulomaic possibility as expressed by sentences such as (5a)—(b) since these sentences express speaker's attitudes rather than descriptions of the world.

To sum up, the notions of epistemic, deontic, dispositional, circumstantial and boulomaic modalities, as defined above, seem to be sufficiently clear. Given a specific context, it should thus not be too difficult to determine the type of modality represented by *can* or *must*. Of course, in logic it would be quite easy to define a set of further modalities, e.g. *fatalistic modality* where each world is accessible to itself only, or the *modality of conceivability* where the set of possible worlds are those worlds in which the same things are conceivable, etc. But these modalities, as far as I can see, do not have any linguistic relevance. On the other hand, I shall claim that the modalities introduced thus far *are* linguistically relevant, that is, they may manifest themselves in linguistically different structures or exhibit linguistically significant properties, as we shall see immediately.

However, before embarking on the discussion of the linguistic properties of the various modalities, two important remarks must be made.

First, notice that one may extend the notion of 'circumstances' to cover the specific contexts that bring about deontic, dispositional and boulomaic modalities (and, maybe, others). In our definition the concept of 'circumstances' was meant to refer to properties of the world which the everyday use of this term would denote. On this more restricted use the notion of circumstantial possibility would only account for the modalities expressed by sentences such as (4a)–(b). But it can be argued that deontic, dispositional and boulomaic contexts, too, are circumstances. Circumstantial modality would then be a cover term for all these modalities. This would boil down to the claim that there are two basic types of modalities: epistemic modality and circumstantial modality. The first one involves mental states (i.e. knowledge), the second one circumstances. According to the type of circumstances circumstantial modality could then be further subdivided into deontic, dispositional, boulomaic, etc. modalities.¹³ For our present purposes, however, we need not decide on this issue.

Second, it would seem that modal systems can be constructed (and have been constructed) to account for epistemic, deontic, dispositional, boulomaic and circumstantial possibilities but so far nothing has been said about subjective possibility. This modality does not seem to fit into any of the modal systems discussed above. Notice that whereas the other modalities all satisfy the basic equivalences of modality (12a)–(b), subjective possibility does not. That is, *Péter az iskolában lehet* 'Peter must be at school' (cf. (2a)) is not equivalent with *Nem szükségszerű, hogy Péter nincs az iskolában* 'It is not necessarily the case that Peter is not at school'. In addition to the subjective possibility expressed by *-hat/-het* there is also a subjective necessity expressed by *kell* 'must'. We shall have to say more about subjective necessity in a subsequent section. For expository purposes we shall simply refer to subjective possibility and subjective necessity by the term subjective modality.¹⁴ Subjective modal-

¹³ This line of thought has been discussed at some length in Kratzer 1981.

¹⁴ I think that my notion of subjective modality comes very close to what Lyons calls subjective epistemic possibility. Lyons claims that "In principle, two kinds of epistemic modality can be distinguished: objective and subjective. This is not a distinction that can be drawn sharply in the everyday use of language; and its epistemological justification is, to say the least, uncertain." (Lyons 1977, 797) In discussing the example *Alfred may be unmarried* he points out that "... the speaker may be understood as subjectively qualifying his commitment to the possibility of Alfred's being unmarried in terms of his own uncertainty" (ibidem). And then he concludes that "Under this interpretation, which is probably the most obvious, (14) [= *Alfred may be unmarried*, FK] is more or less equivalent to (18) *Perhaps Alfred is unmarried*." (Lyons 1977, 798) Similar things hold true for Hungarian as well except that in Hungarian there is a clear distinction between subjective and objective epistemic possibility as we shall see presently.

Since subjective possibility is clearly epistemic in a certain sense we shall use the terms subjective possibility and subjective epistemic possibility equivalently. The notion of epistemic possibility will be reserved for the notion of possibility as defined by epistemic logic. In some cases, however, we shall refer to this notion as objective epistemic possibility.

ity is, no doubt, related to epistemic modality since inferences or guesses are made on the basis of what we know or believe to be the case, though everyday knowledge which underlies subjective modality need not be representable as a set of true propositions. In epistemic logic given a knowledge base (a set of known propositions) K and a proposition $p \in K$, one can infer from $\Box p$ that p in some sense (i.e. taking a certain notion of 'consequence'). This is, however, not true for subjective necessity. *John is at school* cannot be inferred from the subjective modal *John must be at school*. The fact that the equivalence (12a)–(b) breaks down in the case of subjective possibility and that the inference $\Box p \rightarrow p$ does not hold for subjective necessity already shows that subjective modality is something radically different from the other types of modality.

4. In English *must* and *can* are considered to be multiply ambiguous. They are not only ambiguous between the epistemic, deontic, dispositional, circumstantial, boulomaic, etc. readings but also within each of these readings since one may consider different sets of facts, different sets of rules or moral systems, etc. The number of different readings that *must* and *can* may thus receive is virtually infinite. The same holds true for German *müssen* and *können*, for French *devoir* and *pouvoir* and also for the Hungarian *kell* 'must' and *-hat/-het*. One could thus claim that there are several *must*'s: *must*₁, *must*₂, *must*₃, . . . and several *can*'s: *can*₁, *can*₂, *can*₃, . . . and each of these should be accounted for separately.¹⁵ But there is also another alternative: one could claim that there is only one *must* and one *can* and what changes is the context. According to this claim, then, the various interpretations of *must* and *can* are derivable from the lexical meaning of these modals and from the context actually given. What seems to speak for the latter course is the fact that all *must*'s are related to necessity, i.e. each of them *does* express a certain kind of necessity, and all *can*'s are related to possibility, i.e. each of them *does* express a certain kind of possibility. Consequently, it seems to be more adequate to claim that *must* and *can* have constant lexical meanings and what makes their actual meaning vary are the contextually determined 'in view of . . .' clauses.¹⁶ In this claim it is tacitly assumed that linguistic structure does not change by changing the context (by replacing *must*_{*i*} by *must*_{*j*}, $i \neq j$, as it were). This assumption, as it stands, is, however, wrong, as we shall see presently.

In what follows I shall explore the question to what extent the type of modality is reflected in linguistic structure. I take it for granted that context is absolutely necessary in order to distinguish between various ambiguities within a given modal category. I also admit that there are quite a few cases where

¹⁵ This is the course taken by M. Grabski who provides separate semantic interpretations for the epistemic and deontic interpretations of *müssen* and *können* within the framework of Montague-grammar. Cf. Grabski 1974.

¹⁶ This is Kratzer's position. Cf. fn. 10.

context gives us the only clue as to which modal category is at stake. But I will claim that context can often be dispensed with when a distinction between the main modal categories is to be made since there are quite a few linguistic devices which render modal sentences nonambiguous.

In the present paper I will be mainly concerned with the expressions of possibility in Hungarian. Possibility and necessity are never fully symmetric in natural language, i.e. one of them is in a sense more basic than the other. In Hungarian possibility seems to be the more basic modal category for at least two reasons:

(i) First, possibility can be indicated by a suffix in Hungarian and it thus becomes part of the process of agglutination (and it is affected by vowel harmony). There is no corresponding suffix of necessity. This fact also has an interesting historical aspect. Hungarian used to be an SOV language. In such languages the normal position of the auxiliary is postverbal (V Aux). The suffix *-hat/-het* falls into this pattern: *fut* 'run' + *hat* 'he can run', *énekel* 'sing' + *het* 'he can sing'. The other modal verbs (including all verbs expressing necessity) follow the historically more recent pattern of Aux V. Compare *Péternek el kell mennie* lit. Peter-dat perf pref must go-pers suf 'Peter must go'.

(ii) Second, almost each type of possibility can be expressed by both the suffix *-hat/-het* and by another modal. There is nothing similar in the case of necessity. In general, expressions of possibility are much more varied in Hungarian than expressions of necessity. Consequently, one may stipulate that Hungarian has a possibility-based modal system rather than a necessity-based one.¹⁷ In what follows, we shall not explore this typological aspect any further, however.

5. Let us first compare epistemic possibility and subjective possibility. Before discussing the relevant examples, however, we have to say a few words about focus.¹⁸ In Hungarian focus can be defined positionally (i.e. syntactically): in general, the focus of the sentence is the constituent that occupies the position immediately preceding the verb provided that the verb itself is not focussed. Most constituents can freely be moved into this position. Two cases must, however, be distinguished which will have some bearing on the discussion which follows. The first case concerns constituents whose normal or neutral position is not the focus position, e.g. definite object noun phrases, some other definite noun phrases, etc. For example,

¹⁷ Lyons claims that English is a necessity-based language rather than a possibility-based one. Cf. Lyons 1977, 800–806.

¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the syntactic rules concerning focus in Hungarian cf. É. Kiss 1981.

- (24) (a) Anna *Pétert* látta.
lit. Ann Peter-acc see-past-she
'It was Peter whom Ann saw.'
- (b) Anna *Péternek* adta el az autóját.
lit. Ann Peter-dat sell-past-she perf pref the car-her-acc
'It was Peter whom Ann sold her car.'
- (c) Anna *Péterrel* ment el moziba.
lit. Ann Peter-with go-past perf pref cinema-to
'It was Peter with whom Ann went to the cinema.'

The neutral (unmarked) word order of these sentences would be (25a)–(c):

- (25) (a) Anna *látta* Pétert.
(b) Anna *eladta* az autóját Péternek.
(c) Anna *elment* Péterrel moziba.

The focussed constituents in (24a)–(c) receive a heavier stress than the stressed constituents in (25a)–(c). The focus in (24a)–(c) has often been referred to as *e m p h a t i c f o c u s* in contrast to (25a)–(c) where focus is nonemphatic. In (25b) and (c) the focus position is occupied by the prefix, in fact, this is its normal position. These examples illustrate the second case of focus. Some further examples of nonemphatic focus are given in (26).

- (26) (a) Péter *levelet* ír.
lit. Peter letter-acc. writes
'Peter is writing a letter.'
- (b) Anna a *konyhában* tanul.
lit. Ann the kitchen-in learns
'Ann is learning in the kitchen.'
- (c) János *orvos* volt.
lit. John doctor was
'John was a doctor.'

In general, then, verbal prefixes, article-less objects of transitive verbs, complements of intransitive verbs and nominal predicates can occupy the focus position without rendering the sentence 'marked'.

Semantically it would seem that only emphatic focus has the property of exhaustive listing.¹⁹ It holds, however, quite generally that focus represents

¹⁹ A. Szabolcsi considers emphatic focus as the clear case of focus in Hungarian and discusses the property of exhaustive listing in connection with emphatic focus only though she does not entirely exclude the possibility that nonemphatic focus, too, may have this property. Cf. Szabolcsi 1981.

the most prominent part of what is predicated (asserted about the topic) in the sentence. In the case of emphatic focus the focus is asserted about the rest of the sentence. (24a), for example, can be paraphrased in the following fashion:

the person whom Ann saw was Peter.

On the other hand, in the case of nonemphatic focus the focus, in general, does not represent the whole predicate: in (26a)–(c) the whole verb phrase belongs to what is asserted about the topic.

Let us now return to our main theme. Consider the following pairs of sentences.²⁰

- (27) (a) Pisti *játszhat* a kertben.
lit. Steve play-can the garden-in
'Steve can be playing in the garden.'
(b) Pisti a kertben *játszhat*.
'Steve must be playing in the garden'
- (28) (a) Anna *írhat* levelet.
lit. Ann write-can letter-acc.
'Ann can be writing a letter.'
(b) Anna *levelet* írhat.
'Ann must be writing a letter.'
- (29) (a) Péter *mehetett* moziba.
lit. Peter go-can-past cinema-to
'Peter could have gone to the cinema.'
(b) Péter *moziba* mehetett.
'Peter must have gone to the cinema.'
- (30) (a) Anna *láthatta* Pétert.
lit. Ann see-can-past-she Peter-acc.
'Ann could have seen Peter.'
(b) Anna *Pétert* láthatta.
'Abb must have seen Peter.'

Let us disregard the fact that some of these sentences can also be interpreted non-epistemically for the time being and let us concentrate on the epistemic interpretation.²¹ Notice first that the (a)-sentences have all verbal focus whereas

²⁰ I think there will be no hardship in grasping the meanings of the (a) sentences (epistemic possibility) for those who are not familiar with Hungarian. On the other hand, it might be difficult to exactly understand what is meant by the (b) sentences (subjective possibility). To get a better understanding of these sentences I suggest that the reader replace the modal verb by a modal adverbial such as *perhaps* or *probably*. I will argue later on that the use of such modal adverbials yields close paraphrases of subjective possibility.

²¹ In general, the (a) sentences can also be interpreted deontically and circumstantially.

the (b)-sentences have all nonverbal focus. This difference seems to be decisive for the interpretation of these sentences. Given an epistemic background the (a)-sentences all express epistemic possibility. That is, (27a) means that it is not excluded that Steve is playing in the garden (but it is equally possible that he is not playing in the garden), (28a) means that it is not excluded that Ann is writing a letter (but it is equally possible that she is not writing a letter), (29a) means that it is not excluded that Peter went to the cinema (but it is equally possible that he did not go to the cinema) and, finally, (30a) means that it is not excluded that Ann saw Peter (but it is equally possible that she did not see him). The (a)-sentences thus express something which is compatible with what we know about the world.

The interpretation of the (b)-sentences is quite different. The sentence (27b), for example, means roughly this: the speaker thinks that it is very likely that Steve is playing in the garden. He has got some evidence to this effect. Steve's playing in the garden is not only compatible with what we know about the world, it expresses something which we think is the case, though we are not quite sure about that. In any case, (27b) makes a stronger claim about reality than (27a).

The other (b)-sentences can be interpreted in a similar fashion: (28b) means that the most likely thing which Ann is now doing is letter-writing, (29b) means that it is very likely the case that Peter went to the cinema and (30b) means that it is very likely that the person whom Ann saw was Peter.

What can account for the fact that the (a)-sentences and the (b)-sentences are interpreted differently? How are these interpretations related to focus? Recall that epistemic possibility means that *p* is compatible with what we know about the world and nothing more. If we assert (27a) we may add: 'but he can just as well be playing elsewhere' or 'but it is also possible that he is not playing at all'. Similarly, if we assert (30a) we may add 'but she could also have seen John' or something to that effect. In general, there are many things which are compatible with what we know. On the other hand, if we assert (27b) we cannot go on saying 'but he can also be playing elsewhere' and if we assert (30b) we cannot add 'but she could also have seen John'. The assertions (27b) and (30b) are in a way 'exhaustive' which seems to be a consequence of the property of exhaustive listing. Although exhaustive listing has only been ascribed to emphatic focus, it would seem that there is no difference in interpretation between modal sentences with emphatic focus and modal sentences with nonemphatic focus. This may suggest that exhaustive listing is also a property of nonemphatic focus.

One might now argue that the interpretation of the (b) sentences is a result of two factors: a) exhaustive listing connected with focus and b) possibility expressed by *-hat/-het*. That *p* is epistemically possible means, as we have seen, that *p* is compatible with what we know. From exhaustive listing it fol-

lows that *p* is not only possible but it is the only possibility. That is, *p* follows from what we know which is the definition of epistemic *must*. This would explain why English *must* can be used to render the meaning of the (b)-sentences.²² This *must*, too, is subjective, however. As pointed out earlier, subjective modality is not based on firm knowledge, the relevant epistemic background may also contain assumptions, beliefs, etc. With some adjustments and refinements, then, subjective modality could be accounted for in the same way as epistemic possibility.²³

The main problem with this proposal is that it obscures the main difference between epistemic possibility and subjective possibility. We shall turn to this problem presently. Before doing so, however, two remarks seem to be in order.

First, it has been noticed that in English stressed *must* tends to be interpreted as expressing (objective) epistemic necessity, and stressed *can* as expressing (objective) epistemic possibility.²⁴ We may now speculate along the following lines. In Hungarian possibility is expressed by a suffix. Suffixes cannot be stressed, i.e. if one wants to stress a suffix one has to stress the word containing the suffix at hand. What happens then in sentences (27a)–(30a) is that stress is meant to fall on the suffix expressing possibility. In other words, what the speaker intends to emphasize is the mere possibility and not what is expressed by the verb. An adequate paraphrase of (27a) would thus be:

That Steve is playing in the garden is possible.

The only thing which is asserted in the (a)-sentences is possibility.

If this interpretation is correct, which I think it is, then it follows that the (a) sentences in (27)–(30) should not be considered as containing focussed verbs. This is further corroborated by the fact that sentences such as (31) are ambiguous between the epistemic and the subjective reading:

²² Notice that a fairly close paraphrase of what is meant by sentences (27b) and (28b) can also be obtained by using *must* instead of *could*.

²³ Let us assume, for example, that the background contains a set of propositions from which at least some express assumptions or uncertainties. Let us denote this set by *A*. Subjective possibility may thus mean that *p* is compatible with *A*. However, we have to take into consideration the internal structure of *p* as well. Notice that what is stated in *p* exhaustively characterizes the topic of *p*. It follows, then, that *p* is the only possibility compatible with *A*. But if *p* is the only possibility compatible with *A*, it must follow from *A*. That is, if \Diamond_s is the subjective possibility operator, $\Diamond_s p$ means that *p* follows from *A*. Such a proposal would, no doubt, preserve uniformity in the treatment of the various modalities but it obscures some of the essential differences, as we shall see immediately.

²⁴ Cf., for example, Aijmer 1980, 130. I quote: "it always seems to be the case that the 'Grundbedeutung' [= objective epistemic necessity, FK] can be preserved when *must* is stressed, however."

- (31) Anna *megírhatta* a levelet.
 lit. Ann perf pref-write-can-past-she the letter-acc
 'Ann could have written the letter.'
 'Ann must have written the letter.'

In (31) the verb (the prefix) can be stressed on two grounds: if it is focussed, we get the subjective possibility reading, if possibility is stressed, we get the (objective) epistemic reading.

Such an ambiguity can, however, only arise if the verb is stressed. Whenever a constituent which normally precedes the verb (i.e. occupies the focus position; namely, perfective verbal prefixes, article-less objects, locative and temporal — and maybe other — complements of intransitive verbs, nominal predicates) is moved behind the verb in a modal sentence containing *-hat/-het*, the subjective modal reading is excluded. On the other hand, sentences with *-hat/-het* in which a constituent has been moved from the unmarked position into focus position (emphatic focus) cannot be interpreted as expressing epistemic possibility. Finally, if article-less objects, complements of intransitive verbs and nominal predicates occupy their normal position (i.e. the focus position, nonemphatic focus), only the subjective modal reading is possible.

In sum, then, the subjective modal reading can clearly be distinguished from the epistemic possibility reading in the majority of cases. In addition, sentence structures which allow for the subjective modal reading, in general, exclude all other (deontic, dispositional, circumstantial, boulomaic) modal readings.

Secondly, one may wonder if there is any way to linguistically resolve the ambiguity of sentences such as (31). It would seem that the subjective modal reading and the (objective) epistemic reading are systematically connected with two different intonation patterns. In the case of subjective possibility the constituent following the verb is not completely unstressed and the intonation is not as markedly falling towards the end of the sentence as in the case of epistemic possibility. In the case of epistemic possibility the verb gets a somewhat stronger emphasis, the constituent following the verb is almost completely unstressed and the intonation curve is rapidly falling towards the end of the sentence. Intonation is of no help, however, if no constituent follows the verb:

- (32) Anna *megebédelt* a levelet.
 lit. Ann perf pref-eat-lunch-can-past
 'Ann could have had lunch.'
 'Ann must have had lunch.'

Although even in these cases there might be a difference in the strength of stress on the verb, we have to rely on the context in order to disambiguate the sentence.

Let us now take up the discussion of the major difference between epistemic possibility and subjective possibility. Consider the following sentences:

- (33) (a) Anna tudja, hogy Péter *lehet* az iskolában.
lit. Ann know-pers suf that Peter be-can the school-in
'Ann knows that Peter can be at school.'
- (b) *Anna tudja, hogy Péter az *iskolában* lehet.
'Ann knows that Peter must be at school.'
- (34) (a) Péter *nem* lehet az iskolában.
'Peter cannot be at school.'
- (b) Péter nem az *iskolában* lehet.
'Péter could not be at school.'
- (c) Péter az iskolában *nem* lehet.
'As for the school, Peter cannot be there.'
- (35) (a) Péter *lehet* az iskolában?
'Can Peter be at school?'
- (b) *Péter az *iskolában* lehet?
'Must Peter be at school?'
- (c) *Az *iskolában* lehet Péter?
'Must Peter be at school?'
- (d) Péter *lehet* az iskolában?
'Can Peter be at school?'
- (36) (a) Ha Péter *lehet* az iskolában, akkor . . .
'If Peter can be at school, then . . .'
- (b) *Ha Péter az *iskolában* lehet, akkor . . .
'If Peter must be at school, then . . .'

Epistemic possibility behaves exactly as expected: it is compatible with what is known (33a), it can be negated (34a), it can be questioned (35a), and it can occur in conditionals (36a). In contrast, a sentence expressing subjective possibility cannot be embedded under the verb *know* (33b) which may indicate that one cannot know that something is subjectively possible. Notice, however, that subjective possibility is compatible with what one believes or thinks:

- (37) (a) János azt hiszi, hogy Péter az *iskolában* lehet.
lit. John that-acc believe-pers suf that Peter . . .
'John thinks that Peter must be at school.'

Notice next that subjective possibility cannot be negated: (34b) is not the negation of *Péter az iskolában lehet*, though it, too, expresses subjective possibility. It means that the speaker draws the conclusion on the basis of certain indications that Peter must be at some other place but not at school though this, too,

has recently come up as a possibility. (34b) has a touch of 'contrary to expectation'. But it can never function as a denial of a previous statement.²⁵

(34c), too, expresses epistemic possibility. The difference between (34c) and (a) is that in the latter sentence the constituent *az iskolában* 'at school' is moved into topic position.

As shown by (35b) and (c) sentences expressing subjective possibility cannot be questioned: (35b) and (c) are ungrammatical. (35d) is a variant of (35a) and means epistemic possibility.

Finally, subjective possibility cannot occur in conditionals (cf. the ungrammaticality of (36b)). In other words, it cannot be the premise of an implication.

These properties seem to indicate that sentences expressing subjective possibility cannot be considered to be propositions, they are not assertions about the world. Propositions can be known, they can be questioned and negated and they can figure as premises in implications. Epistemic modality belongs to the description of states of affairs, it is part of the assertion about the world. Subjective possibility, on the other hand, seems to express the speaker's attitude to states of affairs thus it belongs to a sphere radically different from that of epistemic modality.

Speaker's attitudes are also expressed by modal adverbials such as *talán* 'perhaps', *valószínűleg* 'probably', *feltehetőleg* 'presumably', *bizonyára* 'in all certainty', etc.²⁶ In fact, sentences (38a)–(c) are close paraphrases of the subjective modal *Péter az iskolában lehet* 'Peter could be at school'.

- (38) (a) Péter talán az iskolában van.
'Peter is perhaps at school.'
(b) Péter valószínűleg az iskolában van.
'Peter is probably at school.'
(c) Péter bizonyára az iskolában van.
'Peter is in all certainty at school.'

Notice also that modal adverbials behave exactly like subjective possibility with respect to embedding under *know*, negation, question formation and conditionals. Consider

- (39) (a) *Anna tudja, hogy Péter talán az iskolában van.
'Ann knows that Peter is perhaps at school.'
(b) *Nem igaz, hogy Péter talán az iskolában van.
'It is not true that Peter is perhaps at school.'

²⁵ (34b) can also be paraphrased, and, maybe, more adequately, as 'Peter is perhaps not at school after all'. Cf. also fn. 20.

²⁶ This point has been made with reference to Hungarian as early as 1968 by J. Molnár (Molnár 1968). It is also argued for in Lang 1981.

- (c) Péter talán az iskolában van?
'Is Peter perhaps at school?'
- (d) *Ha Péter talán az iskolában van, . . .
'If Peter is perhaps at school, . . .'

(39a), (b) and (d) are clearly ungrammatical; (39c) is possible but it is not the question corresponding to *Péter talán az iskolában van*. The adverbial *talán* has a special use in question, the details of which do not concern us here.

The four properties discussed, i.e. embedding under *know*, negation, question formation and occurrence in conditionals, are necessary properties of propositions and the absence of any or all of these properties is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for something to express a speaker's attitude.²⁷

The distinction between subjective possibility and epistemic possibility should be sufficiently clear by now. In what follows we will turn to the other modalities.

The first question which may come to mind after the foregoing discussion is whether deontic, dispositional, circumstantial or boulomaic modality is part of the proposition or is used to express the speaker's attitude. A cursory inspection of these modalities suffices to show that deontic, dispositional and circumstantial modalities are 'propositional', they belong to what is asserted about the world. Boulomaic possibility, on the other hand, is a speaker's attitude. Consider

²⁷ Let me mention yet another property of subjective possibility: it cannot be used in the case of future states of affairs. The following sentences are ungrammatical:

- (i) lit. *Holnap Anna levelet írhat.
'Tomorrow Ann letter write-can
'Tomorrow Ann may be writing a letter;
- (ii) lit. *Péter megírhatja a leckét.
'Peter perf pref -write-can-pers suf the lesson-acc
'Peter may write his lesson'. (in the future)

In (i) future is referred to by the adverbial *holnap* 'tomorrow', in (ii) by the perfective prefix *meg*. Future may also be expressed by the auxiliary *fog* and by the particle *majd*:

- (iii) Anna fog levelet írni.
'Ann will write a letter.'
- (iv) Anna majd ír levelet.
'Ann will write a letter.'

The auxiliary *fog*, however, can never be suffixed by *-hat/-het*:

- (v) *Anna foghat levelet írni.

And the sentence

- (vi) Anna majd írhat levelet.

may only express deontic or circumstantial possibility: Ann will be allowed to write a letter or Ann will have the possibility of writing a letter.

The fact that subjective possibility cannot be used in connection with future states of affairs may have to do with the type of evidence required for this modality.

- (40) (a) Anna tudja, hogy Péter megtanulhatna angolul.
 'Ann knows that Peter could learn English.'
 (b) Péter nem tanulhatna meg angolul.
 'Peter could not learn English.'
 (c) Megtanulhatna Péter angolul?
 'Could Peter learn English?'
 (d) Ha Péter megtanulhatna angolul, akkor ...
 'If Peter could learn English, then ...'

There is no doubt whatsoever that (40a)–(c) cannot express boulomaic possibility. The situation is somewhat different with (40d). The first reading which comes to mind is dispositional. Depending on the consequent, however, it may suggest the speaker's desires. Compare,

- (41) (a) Ha Péter megtanulhatna angolul, boldog lennék.
 'If Peter could learn English, I would be happy.'
 (b) Ha Péter megtanulhatna angolul, elmehetne Angliába.
 'If Peter could learn English, he could go to England.'

(41a), but not (41b), seems to indirectly express the speaker's desires. Therefore I take it for granted that the modal in the if-clause does not express boulomaic possibility.

Notice, incidentally, that the connective *ha* 'if' is often used in desiderative sentences:

- (42) Ha Péter megtanulhatna angolul, jó lenne.
 'It would be nice if Peter could learn English.'

In this sentences 'it would be nice' is, of course, not a consequent.

In Hungarian boulomaic modality is often indicated by the particle *bár* which can be rendered in English by something like 'I wish'. Thus, instead of *Péter megtanulhatna angolul* one would say (43):

- (43) Bár megtanulhatna Péter angolul!
 'I wish Peter could learn English.'

(43) can only be interpreted as expressing boulomaic possibility in contrast to *Péter megtanulhatna angolul* which, if we disregard intonation, may also express circumstantial, dispositional and, maybe, deontic possibility. It should be made clear, however, that sentences expressing boulomaic possibility are always pronounced with a special intonation.

In Hungarian, as far as I can see, boulomaic sentences are characterized by the conditional forms of *must* and *can*.

In conclusion, then, we can say that boulomaic possibility is a speaker's attitude. It is characterized by the conditional form of *-hat/-het* and by a special intonation pattern.

6. In this section we shall briefly examine the question of paraphrasability

6.1. Subjective possibility, as pointed out above, can also be expressed by certain modal adverbials: *talán* 'perhaps', *valószínűleg* 'probably', *feltehetőleg* 'presumably', etc. The paraphrases are, however, not quite synonymous.

- (44) (a) Péter az iskolában lehet.
'Peter must be at school.'
(b) Péter talán az iskolában van.
'Peter is perhaps at school.'
(c) Péter valószínűleg az iskolában van.
'Peter is probably at school.'
(d) Péter feltehetőleg az iskolában van.
'Peter is presumably at school.'

The sentences (44a)–(d) express slightly different speaker's attitudes. However, it is not easy to formulate the differences in speaker's attitudes as exhibited by these sentences in an exact manner and I will not make any attempt to tackle this problem here.

6.2. Epistemic possibility can be paraphrased by the adverbials *lehetséges* or *lehet* both meaning 'possible'. Consider

- (45) (a) Péter lehet az iskolában.
'Peter can be at school.'
(b) *Lehet/lehetséges*, hogy Péter az iskolában van.
'It is possible that Peter is at school.'

(45a) and (b) are fully synonymous in the sense that they have identical truth-conditions.

6.3. Deontic possibility can be paraphrased by the defective verb *szabad* 'be free, be allowed to'. This verb can take the past tense and conditional endings but not personal suffixes. Again, (46a) and (b) have identical truth-conditions:

- (46) (a) Itt parkolhatsz.
 'Here you can park.'
 (b) Itt szabad parkolnod.
 'Here you are allowed to park.'

6.4. Boulomaic possibility does not seem to have any paraphrases.²⁸

6.5. Circumstantial possibility can be paraphrased by means of the full verb *tud* 'know':

- (47) (a) Ott sokat pihenhetsz.
 'There you can rest a lot.'
 (b) Ott sokat tudsz majd pihenni.

The sentences (47a) — (b) are truthfunctionally equivalent.

6.6. Dispositional possibility, too, can be paraphrased by means of *tud*:

- (48) (a) Ha megtanulhatnám ma a leckét, holnap szabad lennék.
 'If I could learn the lesson today, I would be free tomorrow.'
 (b) Ha meg tudnám ma tanulni a leckét, holnap szabad lennék.

Once again, (48a) and (b) have exactly the same truth-conditions.

In sum, then, it would seem that modalities expressing speaker's attitudes do not lend themselves easily to be paraphrased: boulomaic possibility cannot be paraphrased at all, subjective possibility does not have full paraphrases. As to the other modalities the following order seems to be significant in some way: epistemic modality can be paraphrased by adverbials, deontic possibility by means of a defective verb, dispositional possibility and circumstantial possibility by a full verb. This full verb has other uses which do not express modality.

As shown by (47b) and (48b) both circumstantial possibility and dispositional possibility can be paraphrased by means of *tud*. On the other hand, *tud* cannot occur in paraphrases of any other modality. This means that circumstantial possibility and dispositional possibility seem to be closer related to each other than, say, circumstantial possibility and deontic possibility.

It must be noted, however, that dispositional-*hat/-het* cannot always be replaced by *tud*. Consider

²⁸ At least if we disregard the paraphrases which make the speaker's attitudes more explicit either by means of the particle *bár* 'I wish' or by a phrase such as *szeretném, ha* 'I would like if...'.
 .

- (49) (a) Anna énekelhet.
'Ann can sing.'
(b) Anna tud énekelni.
'Ann can/is able to sing.'
- (50) (a) Péter megtanulhatja a leckét.
'Péter can learn the lesson.'
(b) Péter meg tudja tanulni a leckét.
'Péter can/is able to learn the lesson.'

Notice first that (49a) and (50a) may express dispositional possibility: Ann's dispositions may be such that it is possible for her to sing and Peter's dispositions may be such that it is possible for him to learn the lesson. However, (49b) and (50b) do not mean the same thing: (49a) means that Ann possesses the ability of singing and (50b) means that Peter is able to learn the lesson. In other words, (49a) and (b), and (50a) and (b) are not equivalent.

It should also be made clear that (49a) and (50a) are not interpreted dispositionally without contextual support. The most obvious interpretation of these sentences would be the epistemic reading (though the deontic reading is not excluded either).

The problem with *tud* is that it really means ability or capability (to know how to do something or the power to do something). Ability and dispositional possibility are evidently two different things though they are not unrelated. It would seem that if somebody is able to do something this implies that he or she can do this thing (i.e. it is possible for him or her to do this thing). In other words, ability seems to imply possibility.

(49a) expresses general ability. This ability, however, may be dependent on dispositions. If one says, for example, *Anna most tud énekelni* 'Ann is able to sing now', one may wish to refer to certain dispositions. And this sentence may be used to paraphrase the sentence *Anna most énekelhet* 'Ann can sing now' though the two sentences are not fully synonymous. The sentence with *tud* still approaches the state of affairs in question from the point of view of ability and the sentence with *-hat/-het* from the point of view of possibility. Nevertheless, in such cases the sentences with *tud* are used to paraphrase dispositional possibility.

The situation is still more complicated with conditional forms of *-hat/-het*. Consider

- (51) (a) Anna énekelhetne.
'Ann could sing.'
(b) Anna tudna énekelni.
'Ann would be able to sing.'

- (52) (a) Péter megtanulhatná a leckét.
'Péter could learn the lesson.'
(b) Péter meg tudná tanulni a leckét.
'Peter could be able to learn the lesson.'
- (53) (a) Péter elolvashatná az újságot.
'Peter could read the newspaper.'
(b) Péter el tudná olvasni az újságot.
'Peter would be able to read the newspaper.'

For some reason, only (52a) and (b) seem to be close paraphrases of each other. As soon as (53a)–(b) occur in if-clauses, however, they may be equivalent: *Ha Péter elolvashatná az újságot . . .* 'If Peter could read the newspaper . . .' and *Ha Péter el tudná olvasni az újságot . . .* 'If Peter were able to read the newspaper . . .'

These remarks are only meant to indicate the intricacy of the problem.

This concludes the discussion of the grammatical properties of the various types of possibilities. In what follows we shall turn to some aspects of modality which go beyond grammar.

7. Agency seems to be an important notion for deontic, boulomaic, dispositional and circumstantial modalities. It is involved in all these modalities though in slightly different ways. On the other hand, epistemic modality and subjective modality need not make any reference to an agent. It follows, then, that the modal sentences containing the suffix *-hat/-het* which express states of affairs that do not involve an agent can only be interpreted either as indicating epistemic possibility or subjective possibility.²⁹ The choice between these two interpretations is dependent on factors discussed in Section 5. Consider

- (54) (a) Anna *lehet* szerelmes.
'Ann can be in love.'
(b) Anna *szerelmes* lehet.
'Ann must be in love'.
- (55) (a) Péter *álmodhat* érdekeset.
'Peter can dream something interesting.'
(b) Péter *érdekeset* álmodhat.
'Peter must be dreaming something interesting.'

²⁹ A caveat is in order here since this is only true if the indicative forms of *-hat/-het* are used. If we employ conditional forms the boulomaic reading, too, becomes possible in some, but not all, cases. Notice also that while objective epistemic possibility allows for conditional forms, they are almost completely excluded in the case of subjective epistemic possibility.

- (56) *Süthet a nap.*
 'The sun can be shining.'
 'The sun must be shining.'

Normally, these sentences cannot be interpreted deontically, boulomaically, dispositionally or circumstantially. In many cases, however, the question as to whether an agent is involved or not is a matter of context. Thus, for example,

- (57) *Eshet az eső.*
 'It can be raining.'
 'It must be raining.'

would normally be interpreted either as expressing epistemic or subjective possibility. There are, however, cases where rain is caused by an agent. And, then, we may also have artificial rain. In such cases, of course, a sentence such as (57) may also be used to issue an order and will thus be interpreted deontically.

In the case of denotic modality it is, of course, typical, that the agent be represented by the subject of the sentence: it is the agent who may or may not act according to certain rules, norms, conventions, etc. Very often, however, the agent is not made explicit in the sentence. Consider, for example,

- (58) (a) *A lámpa égve maradhat.*
 'The lamp can be left switched on.'
 (b) *Az új út nem vezethet a falun át.*
 'The new road cannot lead through the village.'

In both cases the deontic interpretation is quite possible ((58a) can be interpreted deontically only). Characteristic of such sentences is that the subject is inanimate. Sentence (58a) presupposes in a way a potential human agent who is addressed to by the speaker. (58b), on the other hand, need not presuppose the direct involvement of an agent. The sentence simply states that something is not possible according to certain regulations. (58b) is addressed to everybody who wants to build a new road in the area concerned. In this sense, (58b), too, presupposes an agent.

Circumstantial possibility requires an animate subject: the circumstances are such that Ann can sing, dogs can run around, trees can grow tall, etc. Non-animate subjects cannot occur in sentences expressing circumstantial possibility.

As to dispositional modality, notice first that dispositional modal sentences are all about persons, animals, plants, objects referred to by the subject of the sentence. So far we have only ascribed dispositions to human beings (cf. Section 3.3). It is clear, however, that animals, plants and certain objects, too, may have dispositions. Compare

- (59) (a) Ez a kutya nem tud ugatni.
 'This dog cannot bark.'
 (b) Ez a fa nagyra tud nőni.
 'This tree can grow tall.'
 (c) Ez az autó a 200 km óránkénti sebességet is el tudja érni.
 'This car can even reach the speed of 200 km an hour.'

Artifacts that are built in order to perform something may have various dispositions and this is not at all surprising. But various physical objects such as *water, snow, table, chair*, etc., too., may have dispositions: water can freeze, snow can melt, etc. The dispositional reading depends thus largely on what kind of dispositions we attribute to the objects in question.³⁰

In the case of boulomaic modality any state of affairs can be the object of one's desire: states, processes and events. As pointed out earlier, boulomaic possibility expresses the speaker's attitude (desire, wish) towards a state of affairs. In most cases this attitude is not explicitly stated but it can be inferred from the speaker's utterances. We have already noted that boulomaic sentences are pronounced with a special type of intonation. In addition, in such sentences the conditional forms of *-hat/-het* are used. The speaker's attitude can be made explicit by means of *bár* 'I wish'. In the case of first person subjects *bár* is obligatory:

- (60) (a) Bár elvehetném Katit feleségül.
 'I wish I could marry Kati.'
 (b) Elvehetném Katit feleségül.
 'I could marry Kati.'

The difference between subjective possibility and boulomaic possibility is thus fairly clear. Though both of them express speaker's attitudes and both of them can refer to any state of affairs, subjective possibility cannot be expressed by conditional forms of *-hat/-het* in contrast to boulomaic possibility which is expressed by conditional forms of *-hat/-het* only. In addition, subjective modal sentences and boulomaic sentences have distinctly different intonation patterns. Finally, *bár* is a boulomaic attitude marker.

To sum up, then, subjective, epistemic and boulomaic possibilities need not involve any agent, deontic possibility either presupposes a human agent or the agent is identical with the person referred to by the subject of the sentence, circumstantial possibility requires an animate 'agent' explicitly referred to by

³⁰ These examples suggest that the phrase 'somebody's' in the definitions (18a)–(b) should be replaced by 'certain', i.e. one should have 'In view of certain dispositions . . . '.

the subject of the sentence, dispositional possibility presupposes certain dispositions attributed to the thing (person, animal, plant, physical object) referred to by the subject of the sentence.

8. There are some factual restrictions with respect to the use of subjective possibility and (objective) epistemic possibility which we do not encounter in the case of the other modalities.

Notice that First Person Present Tense forms such as *írhatok* 'I can be writing' or 'I must be writing', *mehetek* 'I can be going' or 'I must be going', *állhatok* 'I can be standing' or 'I must be standing', with the first interpretation referring to the epistemic reading and the second one to the subjective reading, sound very strange. The reason for this is that, in general, one knows for sure whether one is doing something or not. One has immediate and direct knowledge of things which one does and one need not draw inferences or make guesses. *Írok* 'I am writing' is a stronger claim than the corresponding modal statements. Since I have sufficient evidence for the stronger claim, the modal statements representing weaker claims cannot be used to answer questions such as *What are you doing?*³¹ A question which could be answered by a subjective modal statement, say, *What could you be doing now?* is inappropriate. Of course, as soon as Past Tense forms are used, the modal forms become fully acceptable: *írhattam valamit* 'I could have written something' or *valamit írhattam* 'I must have written something'. One no longer has immediate and direct knowledge about things in the past.³²

States which cannot be brought about by voluntary actions can again be interpreted as expressing subjective possibility or epistemic possibility: *beteg lehetek* 'I must be ill', *lehetek beteg* 'I can be ill', *fáradt lehetek* 'I must be tired', *lehetek fáradt* 'I can be tired'.

It is equally strange to use modal forms in First Person Present Tense in the case of predicates expressing cognitive or emotional states: *tudhatom az igazságot* 'I can know the truth' or 'I must know the truth' and *szerethetem Kati* 'I can love Kati' or 'I must love Kati' cannot be taken as serious statements. For some reason one is even supposed to know what one feels.

³¹ This would flout the Gricean maxim of quality. Cf. Grice 1975.

³² Evidently, other factual factors may enter into play here as well. For example, there are things which are easier to forget and others which are rather hard to forget. Therefore, it would seem that (i) can be interpreted epistemically with ease whereas (ii) makes this interpretation more difficult.

- (i) Aláírhattam a levelet.
'I could have signed the letter' or
'I must have signed the letter'
- (ii) Megépíthettem a házat.
'I could have built the house' or
'I must have built the house'

The most natural reading for (ii) seems to be this: 'I could build the house'.

As to Second Person one has to distinguish between face-to-face communication and communication in which the addressee cannot be seen. In the latter case there are no restrictions: the speaker can freely make guesses or draw inferences. In the case of face-to-face communication, however, the speaker does not only know what he is doing, he also knows (if he can hear, see, etc.) what the addressee is doing. The speaker, of course, has no direct access to the addressee's mental states, therefore one can say *ezt tudhatod* 'you can know this', *nagyon szerethetsz* 'you must love me very much', etc. but one cannot say *levelet írhat* 'you must be writing a letter', *írhat* *levelet* 'you can write a letter' or the like.

It goes without saying that nothing similar happens in the case of the other modalities.

9. The illocutionary act potential of the various modalities should not be left out of consideration either. Sentences which express either subjective possibility or boulomaic possibility are not used to make statements but rather to indicate the speaker's attitude towards the given state of affairs. It would seem that this is the only function of subjective modal sentences. Boulomaic sentences, on the other hand, may, by indicating the speaker's desires, indirectly express a request. For example,

- (61) (a) Elmehegnél kenyérért.
lit. perf pref-go-can-cond-you bread-for
'You could go and get some bread.'
(b) Elhozhatnád holnap a könyvet.
lit. perf pref-bring-cond-you tomorrow the book-acc
'You could bring the book with you tomorrow.'

Characteristic of these sentences is the Second Person subject referring to the person to whom the indirect request is directed. Boulomaic sentences may thus be used to perform the indirect speech act of request. In order to qualify as indirect speech acts sentences such as (61a)–(b) must fulfill some conditions which are formulated in the theory of indirect speech acts.³³

Epistemic sentences are used to make epistemic statements.

If certain additional conditions pertaining to speech acts are satisfied then a deontic sentence containing *must* can be used to issue an order and a deontic sentence containing *can* can be used to grant permission. The negation of *must* may mean exemption and the negation of *can* prohibition. The illocutionary act potential of deontic sentences has received relatively much atten-

³³ Cf. Searle 1969 and 1975. The former for the description of certain speech acts and the latter for the specification of indirect speech acts.

tion in recent semantic literature.³⁴ Therefore, we don't have to go into the details here.

Dispositional sentences with *tud* can be used to express indirect requests. For example,

- (62) (a) Ide tudod adni a kalapácsot?
 'Can you hand me the hammer?'
 (b) Tudsz nekem segíteni?
 'Can you help me?'

Once again, (62a)–(b) can be used as indirect requests only if some further conditions to be specified in speech act theory are fulfilled.

Notice that alongside of (62a)–(b) indirect requests can also be expressed by if-clauses:

- (63) (a) Ha most ide tudnád adni a kalapácsot.
 'If you could hand me the hammer now.'
 (b) Ha most tudnál segíteni.
 'If you could help me now.'

(63a)–(b) are incomplete sentences, hence they cannot be used to make conditional statements. Nor do they express dispositional possibility. They are rather expressions whose only function is to convey requests. Circumstantial sentences with *-hat/-het* can be used to make suggestions. Consider

- (64) (a) Elmehetsz moziba.
 'You can go to the cinema.'
 (b) Nézheted a tévét.
 'You can watch television.'

(64a) means that the circumstances are such that the addressee can go to the cinema, and (64b) means that the circumstances are such that the addressee can watch television. If these sentences are pronounced with clause-intonation, they can convey a suggestion. This interpretation can be reinforced by inserting *például* 'for example' into these sentences:

- (65) (a) Elmehetsz például moziba.
 (b) Nézheted például a tévét.

But they still remain sentences which express circumstantial possibility. Because of *például* these sentences cannot be interpreted deontically, however.

³⁴ Cf. Lyons 1977 and the references cited there.

Sometimes it may sound more natural to use the conditional instead of the indicative in sentences such as (65a)–(b):

- (66) (a) Elmeheetnél például moziba.
 'You could for instance go to the cinema.'
 (b) Nézhetnéd például a tévét.
 'You could for instance watch television.'

There is certainly much more to say about the illocutionary act potential of modal sentences but I do not want to dwell upon this problem any longer in the present paper. The above remarks were meant merely to indicate the line of research which might be followed by investigating the relationship between speech acts and modality more thoroughly.

10. Before concluding we have to say a few words about the semantics of *kell* 'must'.³⁵

Notice first that exactly the same differences which we encountered in the case of *-hat/-het* can also be spotted down in the case of *kell*. First of all, there is a subjective *kell* and an objective epistemic *kell*:

- (67) (a) Péternek szeretnie kell Annát.
 'Peter must love Ann.' (subj.)
 (b) Péternek *kell* szeretnie Annát.
 'Peter must love Ann'. (obj.)

Whenever *kell* is stressed it expresses objective epistemic necessity and whenever another constituent is focussed we get the subjective reading.

In some cases it sounds more natural if the stressed *kell* is turned into a matrix predicate:

- (68) (a) Péternek az iskolában kell lennie.
 'Peter must be at school.' (subj.)
 (b) *Kell*, hogy Péter az iskolában legyen.
 'It must be the case that Peter is at school.'

³⁵ Notice that *kell* is formally different from the suffix *-hat/-het* in many respects: (i) it is a (defective) verb and not a suffix, (ii) being a verb it can be focussed, (iii) it is related to the full verb *kell* 'need' (German *brauchen*) which is not inflected when used to express 'I need', 'you need', etc. cf. *nekem kell*, *neked kell*, where the personal pronoun is inflected instead and which means 'I am needed', 'you are needed', etc. when inflected, cf. *kellek*, *kellesz*, etc., and (iv) it requires a rather complex syntactic construction. The subject receives the dative ending, the infinitive of the main verb is inflected according to the category of Person and there are some word order restrictions on *kell*.

Subjective epistemic necessity differs in the same way from objective epistemic necessity as does subjective epistemic possibility from objective epistemic possibility. In fact, subjective epistemic *must* and subjective epistemic *can* are very close to each other. Both express speaker's attitudes, and in the case of subjective *must* one has a somewhat stronger evidence for what one wants to say than in the case of subjective *can*. But it does not express necessity. Therefore, the equivalence (12a) does not hold for the case of subjective *must*.

Boulomaic *must* is mostly expressed by the conditional forms of *kell*:

- (69) (a) Pétert kellene elnöknek választani.
lit. Peter-acc must-cond president-dat elect
'Peter should be elected president.'
(b) Péternek meg kellene tanulnia angolul.
lit. Peter-dat perf pref must-cond learn-he English
'Peter should learn English.'

Boulomaic *must*, too, expresses speaker's attitudes. After what we have experienced with respect to subjective modality it does not come as a surprise that boulomaic *kell* is not really the modal counterpart of *-hat/-het*. Thus, for example, if we add the boulomaic operator *bár* 'I wish' to (69a)–(b), for some reason *kell* will be interpreted as expressing deontic rather than boulomaic necessity:

- (70) (a) Bár Pétert kellene elnöknek választani.
'I wish it would be necessary to elect Peter president.'
(b) Bár meg kellene Péternek tanulnia angolul.
'I wish it would be necessary for Peter to learn English.'

There are no problems with deontic *must*:

- (71) Az utca másik oldalán kell parkolnom.
'I must park on the other side of the street.'

And the interpretation of the circumstantial *must*, too, is straightforward:

- (72) Ott magas gátakat kell építeni.
'There high dams must be built.'

The situation is, however, much less clear in the case of dispositional *must*. We saw, that a sentence such as

- (73) Anna énekelhet.
'Ann can sing.'

may express dispositional possibility. The sentence

- (74) Annának énekelnie kell.
'Ann must sing.'

may be used to express dispositional necessity: Ann's dispositions are such that she must sing. Problems arise, however, if *tud* is used to express dispositional possibility:

- (75) Anna most tud énekelni.
'Ann is able to sing now.'

(74) is by no means a modal counterpart to (75). In fact, there is no *must* which would correspond to *tud*. In spite of the fact that (75) may be used to express dispositional possibility it still means ability: Ann is able to sing and she may sing if she wants to and whenever she wants to. (74), on the other hand, denotes a temporary necessity: Ann feels that she must sing now. This necessity ceases to subsist when she has sung the song.

In sum, then, though *tud* can be used to express dispositional possibility, there is no *must* which would correspond to this possibility.

11. To recapitulate what we have said in this paper, first it is worth noticing that the main distinction in modality is made between modal statements asserted about the world and modal attitudes which express the speaker's attitude to current states of affairs. Statements and attitudes, as was seen, vary both syntactically and semantically (e.g. with respect to negation, questioning, embedding under *know*, occurrence in conditionals). Subjective epistemic possibility and boulomaic possibility belong to the speaker's modal attitudes, deontic, epistemic, dispositional and circumstantial modalities belong to what is asserted about the world and are thus part of the statement.

I have pointed out that focus plays an important role in distinguishing subjective epistemic possibility from objective epistemic possibility. In the case of epistemic possibility what is asserted in the sentence is the possibility itself; this explains why the verb containing the suffix *-hat/-het* gets stressed. On the other hand, because of the exhaustive listing property of focus, sentences containing a (nonverbal) focus can only be interpreted as expressing subjective epistemic possibility since in such cases one cannot go on saying 'but other possibilities are not excluded' which is characteristic of epistemic possibility.

In the majority of cases subjective epistemic possibility can be kept apart not only from objective epistemic possibility but also from other types of possibility on syntactic-semantic grounds.

Boulomaic possibility is expressed by sentences which exhibit a special intonation pattern. Furthermore, in such sentences we encounter almost exclusively the conditional forms of *-hat/-het*.

In general, dispositional possibility is expressed by means of the verb *tud* 'know' rather than by means of the suffix *-hat/-het*. The verb *tud*; however, does not simply indicate things which are possible in view of somebody's dispositions but rather the fact that somebody has the ability of doing something.

I have not said much about deontic possibility and circumstantial possibility. In these cases the actual reading of a sentence containing *-hat/-het* is largely determined by the context.

As to paraphrasability, I have pointed out that epistemic *-hat/-het* can be paraphrased by means of the adverbial *lehet/lehetséges* 'possible', deontic *-hat/-het* by means of the defective verb *szabad* 'be free', circumstantial *-hat/-het* by means of the full verb *tud* 'know'. We may add that dispositional *tud* can be paraphrased by means of *képes* 'be able'.

It seems to be characteristic of *-hat/-het* as attitude markers that the equivalences (12a)–(b) do not work and that no fully synonymous paraphrases are available. Neither subjective epistemic possibility nor boulomaic possibility may mean that 'It is not necessarily the case that *p* does not hold'. And for the second point recall that modal adverbials such as *talán* 'perhaps', *valószínűleg* 'probably', etc. can only be used to render close paraphrases of subjective epistemic *-hat/-het*. On the other hand, boulomaic possibility cannot be paraphrased at all, it can only be made more explicit, for example, by adding *bár* 'I wish' to the modal sentence.

In some sense epistemic modality is the most basic modality among the modalities discussed. If the speaker thinks that something is likely to be the case (subjective epistemic possibility), then he must also think that this thing is not *ab ovo* excluded, i.e. that it is possible. Similarly, if something is possible in view of certain laws, regulations, norms, conventions, etc. it is normally the case that it is also possible in view of what we know about the world. That is, deontic possibility is not at variance with epistemic possibility.³⁶ Furthermore, what can be done in view of somebody's dispositions must be possible to do and the speaker must know that this is the case. The same is true for circumstantial possibility. But I believe that it is different with boulomaic possibility. One may have wishes which are not possible in the actual world.³⁷ All other modal possibilities, however, seem to entail epistemic possibility in the sense that whenever a sentence expresses subjective epistemic possibility, deontic

³⁶ Of course, conflicts may arise. One may, for example, formulate a set of laws that would make something possible which is epistemically impossible.

³⁷ Compare, for example, such sentences as *I wish I could be the king of Hungary*, *I wish I could be a young girl* (uttered by an elderly man), etc. There are, of course, possible worlds different from the actual world in which such sentences can be accounted for.

possibility, dispositional possibility or circumstantial possibility, there exists another sentence that expresses epistemic possibility and refers to the same state of affairs. If we denote the former sentence by S_1 and the latter by S_2 , then it holds that whenever S_1 is the case, S_2 , too, is valid.

There is also a connection between circumstantial possibility and deontic possibility: everything which can be done in view of certain circumstances can also be permitted. That is, whenever a sentence S_1 described a certain state of affairs means circumstantial possibility, then there also exists a sentence S_2 which describes the same state of affairs and which is deontic.

The various meanings of the suffix *-hat/-het* have all a common core meaning which is this: p is compatible with a set of propositions representing the background. The background can vary according to what kind of propositions it contains (epistemic, deontic, dispositional, etc.). All modalities are in this sense inferential: the speaker draws his conclusions on the basis of various types of background. However, whereas nonattitudinal *-hat/-het* seems to be fully determined by means of the compatibility relation and the modal background, the description of the attitudinal uses of *-hat/-het* must also include, among other things, the specification of what is meant by the notion of speaker's attitude.

I have also touched upon certain aspects of modality which go beyond grammar proper such as the question of evidence in the case of epistemic possibility (both subjective and objective), agency (overt agent or presupposed agent) and illocutionary act potential.

It goes without saying that there are a number of problems which had to be left unanswered in the present paper. I should have said more about 'modal' attitudes, about their relationship to other types of attitude and to the objective epistemic *-hat/-het*. I have not explored the question as to whether objective epistemic possibility, deontic possibility and circumstantial possibility can be linguistically kept apart from each other. There are some clear cases which show that these modalities do not manifest themselves in exactly the same way in linguistic structure. I have made a few observations about boulomaic possibility and dispositional possibility. Both types of modality would, however, deserve much more attention: boulomaic possibility because it expresses the speaker's attitude and dispositional possibility because of the special status of *tud*. Also the question of conditional forms should be investigated more thoroughly.

I have devoted another paper to the description of epistemic attitudes in Hungarian.³⁸ I have also discussed some aspects of dispositional modality elsewhere.³⁹ Many other questions, however, have to be relegated to future research.

³⁸ Cf. Kiefer 1984a.

³⁹ Cf. Kiefer 1984b.

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BINDING IN A NONCONFIGURATIONAL LANGUAGE

By

KATALIN É. KISS

1. Introduction

Binding Theory describes the reference relations of the different NP types in the sentence. For NP's with no inherent reference (lexical anaphors and NP-traces) it states with which NP's they have to be coindexed, i.e. by which NP's they have to be bound; and for pronominals and for referential expressions (lexical NP's and wh-traces) it states with which NP's they cannot be coindexed, i.e. from which NP's they have to be free.

Binding Theory specifies the conditions of the binder — bindee relation both with respect to primacy and in the respect of locality; i.e. it determines the possible relative prominence, and the possible distance of the binder and the bound element. The primacy condition of a binding relation is that the binder be more prominent than, or at least as prominent as, the bound element. This prominence requirement has been formulated in structural terms: the binder has to c-command the NP that it binds (cf. Chomsky 1981, Ch. 3.2.3.). In the “flat” sentence structure of a nonconfigurational language, however, the c-command requirement is vague; it creates no hierarchy among the arguments of a head. This fact can, in principle, have either of two consequences for binding: i) it can turn out that in nonconfigurational languages coarguments are, indeed, equally prominent, as shown by c-command, and thus that their binding relations are not constrained with respect to primacy; or ii) it can turn out that the arguments of a head are just as ordered in nonconfigurational languages as in configurational ones, but that their prominence hierarchy is determined not structurally but by some other means. Section 2 of the paper will explore which of these two alternatives is realized in Hungarian, a nonconfigurational language.

The possible domain, or the locality, of binding relations is specified by the notion ‘governing category’. The validity for Hungarian of the definition of governing category proposed in Chomsky (1981) is also doubtful — though for a reason that is independent of the nonconfigurational character of Hungarian. The definition seems implausible because it treats the two possible governing categories: S, and NP, in different ways, even though in Hungarian they are structurally parallel. The governing category potential of S is claimed to depend

on the presence of an AGR node, while the governing category potential of the NP is said to depend on the presence of a subject (i.e. a genitive specifier). In Hungarian, however, both the S and the NP can have an AGR node. Both the S and the NP have INFL, and AGR is a concomitant of the [+ tense] value of the former, and the [+ possessive] value of the latter. The subject of NP, assigned nominative case by AGR, obviously corresponds not to the AGR, but to the subject of S. The analysis of Hungarian data will confirm that the governing category potentials of S and NP cannot be linked to different conditions; both S and NP are governing categories for their arguments, without any proviso. The proposed, simplified definition of governing category will be shown to hold in English, too.

2. The relative prominence of the binder and the bound element

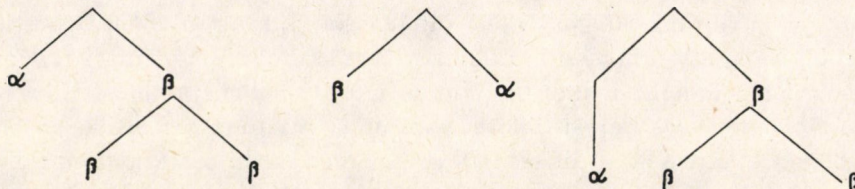
2.1. Binding Theory consists of three principles: one principle to determine the reference possibilities of each of the basic NP types. NP's are subdivided as follows: anaphors — i.e. reflexives, reciprocals, and traces of NP-movement; pronominals — i.e. personal pronouns and the empty PRO; and referential expressions — i.e. names, and variables, including traces of wh-movement.

(1) Binding Theory:

- A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category
- B) A pronominal is free in its governing category
- C) A referential expression is free

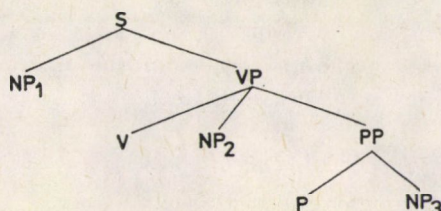
The key notions of the binding principles determining the prominence conditions of a binding relation are the notions 'bound' (an abbreviation of the term 'argument-bound' or 'A-bound'), and 'free' (an abbreviation of the term 'argument-free' or 'A-free'). These notions are defined in purely structural terms: α is A-bound by β if and only if α and β are coindexed, β c-commands α , and β is in an argument position. α is A-free if and only if it is not A-bound (cf. Chomsky 1981, Ch. 3.2.3.).¹ So, in a binding relation the binder must c-com-

¹ α c-commands β if and only if α does not dominate β , nor β α , and the first branching node dominating α also dominates β . E.g. (Cf. Reinhart 1976)



mand the bound element; i.e. the binder must be structurally superior (or at least equal) to the anaphor. In a configurational sentence structure this requirement strongly restricts the possibilities for binding relations among coarguments. E.g. in (2), a typical English sentence structure, NP_1 , the subject, c-commands NP_2 , the object, and NP_3 , the propositional object; NP_2 only c-commands NP_3 , while NP_3 does not c-command any argument. What this means for binding is that NP_1 can enter into a binding relation only as a binder; it can bind either NP_2 or NP_3 . NP_2 can both be bound by NP_1 and can bind NP_3 . NP_3 can enter into a binding relation only as the bound element; it can be bound either by NP_1 or by NP_2 . Cf.

(2)

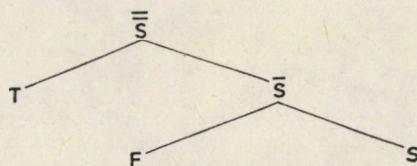


That is, c-command orders the arguments of the V into the following hierarchy: $NP_1 > NP_2 > NP_3$. The condition of a binding relation among the NP's is that the antecedent be more prominent than the bound NP.

2.2. If the definition of the notion 'bound' is to be applied literally in nonconfigurational languages, too, the principles of the Binding Theory will predict that in the flat sentence structure of a nonconfigurational language any argument of a V can enter into a binding relation with any other argument of the V — either as the binder or as the bound anaphor.² This is what follows from the fact that e.g. in (3), the propositional component of a typical Hungarian sentence structure, each argument of the V c-commands the others, i.e. c-command creates no hierarchy among the coarguments.³

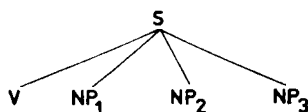
² As nonconfigurational languages do not seem to have NP-movement and thus NP trace (cf. Chomsky 1981–82), the only obligatory argument-bound elements are lexical anaphors, i.e. reflexives and reciprocals, in them.

³ The Hungarian sentence structure also contains two COMP-positions (the one dominated by \bar{S} is reserved for topicalized constituents, while the one dominated by \bar{S} is mainly occupied by focused constituents). Cf.



(see É. Kiss 1981)

(3)



Let us check this prediction. If 'bound' meant 'coindexed with a c-commanding argument' in the nonconfigurational Hungarian, too, both sentences of the following sentence pairs ought to be correct!

- (4) (a) Nézi János önmagát a tükörben.
watches John himself + acc the mirror-in
'John watches himself in the mirror.'
- (b) *Nézi Jánost önmaga a tükörben.
watches John + acc himself + nom the mirror-in
'Himself watches John in the mirror.'
- (5) (a) Ajándékot vett János önmagának.
present + acc bought John himself + dat
'John bought himself a present.'
- (b) *Ajándékot vett Jánosnak önmaga.

However, movement into these peripheral positions does not change the possibilities of binding in the sentence — as is also claimed e.g. in Van Riemsdijk—Williams (1981). It appears that in the case of constituents moved into a peripheral position by "Move wh", it is the trace left behind in an argument position that participates in the binding relation. This also follows from the requirement of 'argument-binding', i.e. binding from argument position. Consequently, the part of the sentence structure that is relevant from the point of view of binding is the nonconfigurational propositional component depicted in (3).

Let us also demonstrate by examples that "Move wh" does not change the conditions of binding!

- (i) [sSzereti János_i önmagát_i]
loves John himself + acc
'John_i loves himself_i.'
- (ii) [_SJÁNOS_i [_{sszereti} t önmagát_i]]
[_SÖNMAGÁT_i [_{sszereti} János_i t]]
- (iii) [_SJános_i [_SÖNMAGÁT_i [_{sszereti} t t]]]
[_SÖnmagát_i [_SJÁNOS [_{sszereti} t t]]]

As it was already observed in Reinhart (1976), a focused anaphor can be acceptable also in a context where the binding rules would predict it to be ungrammatical. This can be observed, to a certain degree, in Hungarian, too:

- (iv) [_SCSAK ÖNMAGA_i [_{sszereti} t Jánost_i]]
only himself loves John + acc
cf.* [sSzereti önmaga_i Jánost_i]

The reason for this phenomenon may be that a focused constituent can always be interpreted as the correction of the corresponding constituent of a previous sentence, or of a presupposed statement. Therefore, binding relations will be checked on examples in which both the binder and the bound element are in argument positions.

- (6) (a) *Bízik János önmagában.*
 trusts John himself-in
 'John trusts himself.'
 (b) **Bízik Jánosban önmaga.*
- (7) (a) *Dicsértem Jánost önmagának.*
 praised-I John + acc himself + dat
 'I praised John to himself.'
 (b) ?*Dicsértem Jánosnak önmagát.*

But cf. also (8), in which both the (a) and (b) examples are grammatical:

- (8) (a) *Megmutattam a gyereket önmagának a tükörben.*
 showed-I the child + acc himself + dat the mirror-in
 'I showed the child to himself in the mirror.'
 (b) *Megmutattam a gyereknek önmagát a tükörben.*
- (9) (a) *Szembesítettem Jánost önmagával.*
 confronted-I John + acc himself + instrumental
 'I confronted John with himself.'
 (b) ??*Szembesítettem Jánossal önmagát.*
- (10) (a) *Faggattam Jánost önmagáról.*
 interrogated-I John + acc himself-about
 'I interrogated John about himself.'
 (b) **Faggattam Jánosról önmagát.*
- (11) (a) *Ajándékot küldtem Jánosnak önmagával.*
 present + acc sent-I John + dat himself + instrumental
 'I sent John a present with himself.'
 (b) ?*Ajándékot küldtem Jánossal önmagának.*
- (12) (a) *Sokat beszéltem Jánosnak önmagáról.*
 much + acc spoke-I John + dat himself-about
 'I spoke a lot to John about himself.'
 (b) **Sokat beszéltem Jánosról önmagának.*
- (13) (a) *Sokat vitatkoztam Jánossal önmagáról.*
 much + acc argued-I John + instr himself-about
 'I argued a lot with John about himself.'
 (b) **Sokat vitatkoztam Jánosról önmagával.*

Since in the sentence pairs in (4)–(13) the locality conditions are invariant, the (b) sentences can only be ungrammatical — or marginal — because of violating the prominence constraint on anaphora; namely, in them the anaphor is certainly more prominent than the antecedent. Since both the anaphor and the antecedent are structurally on the same level in each sentence, their prominence difference cannot be motivated structurally; it seems to be related to their case.

As (4)–(6) show, a nominative NP can serve as the antecedent of an anaphor in any Case. As indicated by (7)–(10), an accusative NP can only be coindexed with an anaphor in dative, instrumental, or in one of the adverbial cases. A dative NP can bind an anaphor in instrumental or in an adverbial case — see (11)–(12), even though sometimes it can also be coindexed with an accusative anaphor — see (8b). (13) demonstrates that an NP in instrumental can be coreferent with an anaphor in an adverbial case.

So, the structural hierarchy of arguments determined by c-command seems to be replaced in the nonconfigurational Hungarian by a hierarchy of case. This hierarchy is as follows:

(14) (a) nominative > accusative > dative > instrumental > adverbial

The prominence of dative over accusative is less clear than the other grades of the hierarchy; e.g. in (8), the arguments of *megmutat* 'show' display the following hierarchy:

(14) (b)
$$\text{nominative} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{accusative} \\ \text{dative} \end{array} \right\} > \text{instrumental} > \text{adverbial}$$

In Hungarian, the primacy condition of a binding relation is that the binder precede the anaphor in the case hierarchy in (14).

The validity of the proposed case hierarchy condition is even more clearly demonstrated by sentences containing reciprocals. In the case of reciprocals, the violations of the case hierarchy condition are always completely ungrammatical — apart from the uncertainty concerning the relative prominence of the accusative and the dative. Cf.

(15) (a) *Ismerik a lányok egymást.*
know the girls each other + acc
'The girls know each other.'

(b) **Ismerik a lányokat egymás.*

(16) (a) *Szidtam a lányokat egymásnak.*
scolded-I the girls + acc each other + dat
'I scolded the girls to each other.'

(b) ?*Szidtam a lányoknak egymást.*

But the accusative and dative arguments of *megmutat* 'show' are equally prominent:

- (17) (a) *Megmutattam a lányokat egymásnak.*
 showed-I the girls + acc each other + dat
 'I showed the girls to each other.'
 (b) *Megmutattam a lányoknak egymást.*
- (18) (a) *Szembesítettem a lányokat egymással.*
 confronted-I the girls + acc each other + instr
 'I confronted the girls with each other.'
 (b) **Szembesítettem a lányokkal egymást.*
- (19) (a) *Faggattam a lányokat egymásról.*
 interrogated-I the girls + acc each other-about
 'I interrogated the girls about each other.'
 (b) **Faggattam a lányokról egymást.*
- (20) (a) *Ajándékot küldtem a lányoknak egymással.*
 present + acc sent-I the girls + dat each other + instr
 'I sent presents to the girls with each other.'
 (b) **Ajándékot küldtem a lányokkal egymásnak.*
- (21) (a) *Sokat beszélgettem a lányokkal egymásról.*
 much + acc talked-I the girls + instr each other-about
 'I talked a lot with the girls about each other.'
 (b) **Sokat beszélgettem a lányokról egymással.*

The question may have arisen why genitive is not included in the case hierarchy. The answer is that the case hierarchy obviously applies only among coarguments (we would not want e.g. the nominative NP of an embedded sentence to be more prominent than the accusative NP of the matrix sentence). An NP in the genitive is an argument of a N head, the equivalent of the function 'subject' on the NP-cycle. The genitive argument of a N, similar to the subject of a V, bears nominative case, and is the most prominent argument of its head — so the proposed case hierarchy does handle it. The question whether arguments of different heads, e.g. an argument of the V, and the genitive of a N, can enter into a binding relation with each other will be discussed in section 3.3. The coindexing of noncoarguments will turn out to be possible, but will appear to fall outside Binding Theory proper. The coreference of noncoarguments will be shown to be constrained in the respect of primacy neither by case, nor by c-command, but by the 'distance from the root of the sentence'.

From the case hierarchy in (14) it follows that an anaphor in the dative, in the instrumental, or in adverbial case can have more than one potential

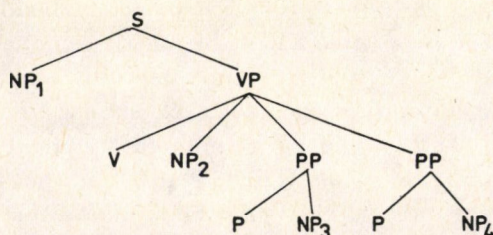
binder in its clause. This is, indeed, the case, even though such sentences usually have a preferred reading. E.g.

- (22) (a) *János_i Péterrel_j önmagáról_{i(j)} vitatkozott.*
 John Peter-with himself-about argued
 'John argued with Peter about himself.'
 (b) *Péterrel_j önmagáról_{i(j)} vitatkozott János_i.*
 (c) *János_i önmagáról_{i(j)} vitatkozott Péterrel_j.*

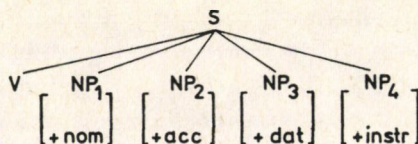
In the interpretation of such sentences the listener can, in principle, apply various strategies. He can choose from among the potential antecedents the one that is the most prominent according to the case hierarchy; or he can select the NP closest to the anaphor, by way of the Locality Principle of Koster (1978);⁴ or, if one NP is before, the other one is after the anaphor, he can decide on the NP before it, by way of the precedence condition of Langacker (1969)⁵ As is clear from (22), the first strategy is applied; the listeners choose the NP in the most prominent, nominative, case as the antecedent. That is, the selection of the preferred antecedent is also determined by the case hierarchy instead of by some structural principle.

2.3. The argument hierarchy of Hungarian based on case obviously shares a close relationship with the argument hierarchy of English as determined by c-command. Both hierarchies express the prominence of the subject over the object, and the prominence of the object over the rest of the complements; only the case hierarchy is further articulated. Cf. the propositional component of a typical English sentence structure with that of a typical Hungarian sentence structure:

(23) (a) English:



(b) Hungarian:



⁴ Koster's Locality Principle says that if a rule involves a category γ and a category α , it is the α closest to the given γ that the rule applies to. Formally: No rule involves α_{i+1} , γ (where α c-commands or is parallel to γ) in:

..., α_{i+1} , ..., α_i , ..., γ , ..., α_i , ..., α_{i+1} , ... ($i \geq 1$)

⁵ According to Langacker (1969), a personal, reflexive or reciprocal pronoun cannot both precede and command its antecedent.

α commands β if and only if α does not dominate β (nor $\beta \alpha$), and the first S node dominating α also dominates β .

In (23a) the structural hierarchy establishes the following order among the NP's:

$$NP_1 > NP_2 > \begin{Bmatrix} NP_3 \\ NP_4 \end{Bmatrix}$$

In (23b) case hierarchy orders the NP's as follows:

$$NP_1 > NP_2 > NP_3 > NP_4$$

The two types of hierarchy yield such similar results that it would seem plausible to try to trace them back to a common source. Another fact suggesting this is that the structural hierarchy demonstrated e.g. in (23a) is not articulated enough in every case to constrain English anaphora; there are instances when e.g., NP₃ of (23a) appears to be more prominent than NP₄ — in spite of the fact that they are structurally equivalent (see (24)). This gives the impression that the argument ordering based on c-command is an — occasionally simplified — structural expression of another (yet unknown) kind of hierarchy.

- (24) (a) I talked *to John about himself*.
 (b) *I talked *about John to himself*.

In (24) the c-command constraint doubly fails: on the one hand, the antecedent in (24a) does not c-command the anaphor, and the sentence is, nevertheless, correct; and on the other hand, the c-command relations between the underlined NP's are identical in both sentences; nevertheless, they differ in grammaticality.

To explain the difference between sentences like (24a) and (24b) Jackendoff (1972) established a thematic role hierarchy, and claimed that an anaphor cannot precede its antecedent in this hierarchy. The hierarchy of thematic roles is as follows:

1. agent
2. location, source, goal
3. theme

(24b) is ungrammatical because in it the goal-anaphor is more prominent than the theme-antecedent.

Koster (1978), on the other hand, proposed a so-called argument prominence hierarchy as an auxiliary hypothesis for the handling of cases not covered by c-command. This hierarchy is as follows:

subject > indirect object > direct object > prepositional object
 Koster claimed that c-command is only relevant if arguments of different heads are concerned; among coarguments of one and the same head it is the argument prominence hierarchy that determines the antecedent—anaphor

relation. An NP can serve as the antecedent of an anaphor if it is more prominent than the anaphor.

These suggestions might lead us to hypothesize that the common basis from which both the Hungarian case hierarchy and the English structural hierarchy can be derived is either a hierarchy of thematic roles — like that proposed by Jackendoff (1972), or a hierarchy of grammatical functions — like that proposed by Koster (1978). After all, either thematic roles or grammatical functions can be fairly systematically mapped onto structural positions in English, and onto cases in Hungarian.

The assumption that the common mediator between the Hungarian case hierarchy and the English structural hierarchy is a hierarchy of grammatical functions would be problematic on theoretical grounds. Generative literature (with a few exceptions, e.g. Marantz 1981) assumes that grammatical functions are secondary, derived notions; they do not represent an independent level of language description, for which specific rules or constraints can be stated (cf. Chomsky 1965, and from the more recent literature, Cinque 1981, Williams 1981).

An underlying thematic role hierarchy of the type proposed by Jackendoff, on the other hand, would be problematic empirically. There is clear evidence that in Hungarian the case hierarchy cannot be directly deduced from a hierarchy of thematic roles. As Szabolcsi (to appear) showed, the nominative-accusative argument structure of verbs turns into ergative if the head verb is supplied with *-ás/-és*, the suffix of the verbal noun. That is, the accusative complement of the finite V becomes the nominative complement of the nominalized form, and the nominative complement of the finite V becomes the ablative complement of the nominalized form. E.g.

- (25) (a) János lelőtte Pétert.
 John shot Peter + acc
 (b) Péter lelővése Jánostól /János által
 Peter shooting John + abl/John through
 ‘Peter’s being shot by John’

Both (26a) and (26b) contain arguments with the same thematic roles: an actor and a theme; however, the distribution of cases is opposite in them:

- (25) (a') $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_1 \\ \text{actor} \\ \text{[nominative]} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_2 \\ \text{theme} \\ \text{[accusative]} \end{array} \right]$
 (b') $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_1 \\ \text{theme} \\ \text{[nominative]} \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_2 \\ \text{actor} \\ \text{[ablative]} \end{array} \right]$

If the two arguments are in an anaphoric relation, the selection of the antecedent is determined not on the basis of thematic role but on the basis of case: only the nominative NP can serve as the antecedent in both structures, even though in (27a) it represents the actor, and in (27b) the theme.

- (26) (a) *János lelötte önmagát.*
 John shot himself + acc
 cf. **Önmaga lelötte Jánost.*
 (b) *János lelövése önmaga által /önmagától*
 John shooting himself through/himself + abl
 'John's being shot by himself'
 cf. **önmaga lelövése János által/Jánostól*

According to my own speculations, the common underlying basis of the configurational and nonconfigurational argument hierarchies can well be the feature matrix that is assumed to underlie case systems (cf. Van Riemsdijk 1980, 1981). This feature matrix presumably consists of primitive semantic-conceptual notions. These may be reminiscent of thematic roles; however, while an argument is associated with a single thematic role, it is characterized by a cluster of semantic-conceptual features. So an argument with the thematic role 'location' is not only marked for direction, but is marked at least for position and for extension, too. E.g. an argument realized in English as the object of the preposition *at* is marked, among others, [+ location], [+ outer], and [+ point]. The semantic-conceptual features form a hierarchy in the matrix — either from the most active participant of the action to the least active one or from the most central participant of the action to the least central one. The two hierarchy variants differ only in their top parts: the former is headed by the feature 'most active participant of the action' abbreviated as A, while the latter is headed by the feature 'the main locus of verbal activity or interest' (a formulation of Ackermann 1980), abbreviated as ML. That is:

(27) (a)

A	+	-	-	-
ML		+	-	-
Recipient			+	-
Indirect Actor				+
...				
...				

(27) (b)

ML	+	-	-	-
A		+	-	-
Recipient			+	-
Indirect Actor				+
...				
...				

An argument is characterized by a vertical cluster of features. The different feature clusters are realized in configurational languages primarily by structural positions, while in nonconfigurational languages primarily by cases. (Both type of language can also apply lexical means in the realization of feature-clusters (e.g. various prepositions, postpositions)). The order of features in the feature matrix is so significant because the first positive value in a feature-cluster plays a decisive role in the realization of the given argument. The precedence of the feature A over the feature ML yields a nominative-accusative argument structure, which means that arguments with the feature [+A] are realized alike (e.g. as [NP, S] in English, or as nominative in Hungarian), irrespective of whether they are [+ML] or [-ML] at the same time. E.g.

- (28) (a) *János* meggyógyult. *Az orvos* meggyógyította Jánost.
 'John recovered.' 'The doctor cured John.'
 $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +ML \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -ML \end{bmatrix}$

The precedence of the feature ML over the feature A yields an ergative argument structure. In this, arguments with the feature [+ ML] are marked alike (e.g. as nominative in the argument structure of Hungarian verbal nouns). In the presence of the feature [+ ML] the feature [\pm A] is practically neutralized. Cf.

- (28) (b) *János meggyógyulás-a*
 John recovering-AGR (sg. 3)
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ ML} \\ + \text{ A} \end{array} \right]$
 'John's recovering'
- János meggyógyítás-a* az orvos által
 John curing -AGR(sg.3) the doctor through
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ ML} \\ - \text{ A} \end{array} \right]$
 'John's being cured by the doctor'

It is the feature hierarchies in (27a) and (27b) that account for the relative prominence of the arguments of a head, too. The higher the first positive value in the feature-cluster of an argument appears, the more prominent the argument will be. This prominence principle is neutral with respect to the configurational or case realization of the feature-clusters.⁶

⁶ The fact that in nonconfigurational languages the prominence relations of arguments are determined not on the basis of c-command but on the basis of case does not necessarily imply that c-command can play no role at all in a nonconfigurational

3. The locality of binding

3.1. The domains within which binding principles A and B hold, i.e. within which an anaphor must be bound and a pronominal must be free, is called governing category. (In the case of binding principle C, concerning referential expressions, the notion of governing category is not relevant, as a referential expression cannot be bound at all.) α is a governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal S or NP containing β , a governor of β , and a SUBJECT accessible to β . So the domain in which an anaphor must be bound is the minimal S or NP containing the anaphor, the governor of the anaphor, and a SUBJECT accessible to the anaphor (cf. Chomsky 1981, ch. 3.2.3.)

The governor of a NP is the lexical category (V, N, P, Adj, or AGR) to which the NP is a complement, and from which it receives case. The governor of an object NP is the V; the governor of a prepositional object NP is the P; while the governor of a subject NP is the AGR.⁷

The term SUBJECT, in the definition of 'governing category', covers the AGR node of a finite S, the subject of an infinitival S, and the subject (i.e. genitive specifier) of a NP. So a finite S minimally containing an anaphor and its governor is always a governor for the anaphor, since it always contains AGR.⁸ If, on the other hand, the anaphor and its governor are included in a nonfinite S (which has no AGR), or in a NP, the S or NP can serve as the governing category of the anaphor only if it also contains a subject.

grammar. A nonconfigurational grammar can also have configurational aspects. E.g. Hungarian, non-argument binding (A-binding), i.e. the binding of a trace by a constituent moved outside the propositional component of the sentence, does display a c-command configuration. This follows the fact that the transformations moving material into peripheral positions: topicalization and focusing on the one hand, and extraposition on the other hand, are adjunctions, and an adjunction creates a configuration conforming to the requirement of c-command independent of the inner organization of the base structure.

⁷ Formally: α governs γ in the structure

$[\beta \dots \gamma \dots \alpha \dots \gamma \dots]$,

where (i) $\alpha = X^0$

(ii) where φ is a maximal projection, if φ dominates γ then φ dominates α

(iii) α is an immediate constituent of β (see Chomsky 1981, 163)

⁸ The SUBJECT of the governing category must be accessible to the anaphor. The definition of 'accessible' is based on the following filter:

(i) $*[\gamma \dots \delta \dots]$, where γ and δ bear the same index

The definition is as follows:

(ii) α is accessible to β if and only if β is in the c-command domain of α and assignment to β of the index of α would not violate (i).

The reason why the above definition of governing category is a priori implausible in Hungarian is that in Hungarian not only the S but also the NP can have an AGR node, so it is improbable that the AGR of S be associated with the subject of NP instead of with the AGR of NP. The Hungarian NP, just like the S, contains an INFL node — not an unexpected phenomenon in view of the \bar{X} theory. Just as the INFL node of the S has [\pm tense] values, and [$+$ tense] cooccurs with AGR, the INFL node of the NP has [\pm possessive] values, and the [$+$ possessive] value cooccurs with AGR. Just as [AGR, S] assigns nominative case to the subject of the S, [AGR, NP] assigns nominative case to the subject (i.e. genitive) of the NP. In the S, the AGR marker is realized on the V, while in the NP, it is realized on the head N. A further parallelism between the Hungarian S and NP is that both have COMP slots (cf. Szabolcsi, to appear). (An immediate conclusion is that the inner structures of S and NP are so similar that it is improbable that different nodes should serve as their heads, the head of S being INFL, the head of NP being N.) Even the morphological markers themselves of [AGR, S] and [AGR, NP] coincide to a large extent. Cf.

- (29) (a) az én autó-*m*
 the I + nom car AGR(sg.1)
 'my car'
 a te autó-*d*
 the you + nom car AGR(sg.2)
 'your car'
 a János autó-*ja*
 the John + nom car AGR(sg.3)
 'John's car'
- (b) Én íro *-m* a levelet.
 I + nom write AGR(sg.1) the letter + acc
 'I write the letter.'
 Te íro *-d* a levelet.
 you + nom write AGR(sg.2) the letter
 'You write the letter.'
 János ír *-ja* a levelet.
 John + nom writes AGR(sg.3) the letter
 'John writes the letter.'

The empirical data also throw doubt upon the claim that while S is made a governing category for its arguments by the presence of AGR, the NP is made a governing category by the presence of a subject. E.g. in (30) the complex NP

has no subject, nevertheless it acts as the governing category of the anaphor. The sentence is obviously ungrammatical because the anaphor is not bound in its governing category, i.e. the potential antecedent is outside the complex NP.

- (30) **Jánost_i* meglepte [_{NP}az összeesküvés *önmaga_i* ellen].
 John + acc surprised the conspiracy himself against
 ‘**John_i* was surprised at the conspiracy against *himself_i*.’

If the anaphoric complement of the N in (30) is replaced by a personal pronoun, the binding relation between the matrix subject and the pronoun will become possible, since a personal pronoun can be bound outside its governing category. Cf.

- (31) *Jánost_i* meglepte [_{NP}az összeesküvés *ellene_i*].
 John + acc surprised the conspiracy against-him
 ‘*John_i* was surprised at the conspiracy against *him_i*.’

Structure (31) also has a left-branching version, in which the argument of the head N appears in attributive position, as the complement of a semantically empty participle such as *való* ‘being’, *levő* ‘being’, *szóló* ‘speaking’ etc. E.g.

- (32) *Jánost_i* meglepte [_{NP}az *ellene_i* folyó összeesküvés].
 John + acc surprised the against-him going-on conspiracy
 ‘*John_i* was surprised at the conspiracy going on against *him_i*’

Structure (32) is, in fact, more common than (31); the complex NP in (31) is mainly used if it stands alone, as a title, or if it represents the nominative or accusative complement of the matrix V. In (32), however, the pronominal *ellene* seems, technically, to be not a complement of the N but a complement of the participle. This participial phrase, on the other hand, has a sentential character — so the governing category of the pronominal in (32) may be not the NP but an S subordinated to the NP. Therefore, the governing category status of the NP will be checked on structures of type (31).

The fact that in (30) and (31) the grammaticality judgements of the English equivalents are similar to the grammaticality of the Hungarian sentences raises the suspicion that the failure of the current notion of governing category in Hungarian may not be due to the specific characteristics of Hungarian syntax; i.e. the definition of governing category may need more than a language-specific adjustment; in fact a more general revision may be called for.

The unmarked case, putting the least burden on the language learner, would be if the S and the NP could be considered governing categories, i.e. islands for a binding relation, without any reference to AGR or subject or

Considering S a governing category with no regard to the presence or absence of a SUBJECT will not rule out the English construction in (37):

- (37) *John_i expects [shimself_i to be the candidate].*

Since the anaphor is governed by the matrix V, the minimal S containing the anaphor and its governor is the matrix S; so the anaphor in (37) is bound in its governing category.

3.2. For NP's, the unmarked, "null" solution would mean that the anaphoric complement of an N must always have its antecedent within the NP, not only when the NP has a subject, as in (38), but also when it is subjectless, as in (39). Since the intended antecedent of the anaphor is outside the NP both in (38) and in (39), we expect both sentences to be ungrammatical. They are, indeed:

- (38) **A terroristák_i tudtak [NP_a rendőrség akciójáról önmaguk_i ellen].*
the terrorists knew the police's action-about themselves
against
*'*The terrorists_i knew of [NPthe police's action against themselves_i]'*

- (39) **A terroristák_i tudtak [NP_{az} akcióról önmaguk_i ellen]*
the terrorists knew the action-about themselves against
*'*The terrorists_i knew of [NPthe action against themselves_i]'*

The pronominal complement of a N head, on the other hand, is expected to be able to enter into a binding relation with an argument of the matrix V, whether or not the N also has a subject. Indeed, if the anaphors in (38) and (39) are replaced by personal pronouns, the sentences will be grammatical:

- (40) *A terroristák_i tudtak [NP_a rendőrség akciójáról ellenük_i]*
the terrorists knew the police's action-about against-them
'The terrorists_i knew of [NPthe police's action against them_i]'
- (41) *A terroristák_i tudtak [NP_{az} akcióról ellenük_i]*
the terrorists knew the action-about against-them
'The terrorists_i knew of [NPthe action against them_i]'

Unfortunately, there also seem to be counter-examples to the pattern of binding demonstrated by (38), (39), (40), and (41). There are complex (subjectless) NP's within which anaphors and pronominals do not display comple-

mentary distribution; both of them can be bound by an argument of the matrix V. Cf.

- (42) *János_i* megviselte [_{NP}a vita *önmagával_i*]
 John + acc exhausted the argument himself-with
 'John_i was exhausted by [_{NP}the argument with *himself_i*']
- (43) *János_i* megviselte [_{NP}a vita *vele_i*]
 John + acc exhausted the argument with-him
 'John_i was exhausted by [_{NP}the argument with *him_i*']

Another type of example:

- (44) *Jánosnak_i* nem tetszett [_{NP}az anekdota *önmagáról_i*]
 John + dat not pleased the anecdote himself-about
 'John_i did not like [_{NP}the anecdote about *himself_i*']
- (45) *Jánosnak_i* nem tetszett [_{NP}az anekdota *rólá_i*]
 John + dat not pleased the anecdote about-him
 'John_i did not like [_{NP}the anecdote about *him_i*']

In my opinion, the NP-types exemplified in (42) and (44) are only seemingly exceptions to the claim that NP's are governing categories for their complements whether or not they have a subject.

In (42), the anaphoric complement of the N appears to have an antecedent outside its governing category for the following reason: The head of the NP is a deverbal N, which has the argument structure of the corresponding V. In (42) its agent has remained implicit (in the sense of Koster 1981); it is assumed to be represented by an empty PRO, which is controlled by the matrix subject. The antecedent of the anaphor within the NP is this PRO argument. An implicit PRO argument of a N, similarly to the PRO subject of infinitives, can only bind an anaphor if it is controlled. So in (42) PRO can only be interpreted as controlled by the matrix subject; it cannot be understood as e.g. arbitrary in reference. So the structure of (42) is parallel with the structure of e.g. (35), in which the apparent binding relation between a matrix complement and an embedded complement is mediated through a PRO. That is:

- (46) *János_i* megviselte [_{NP}a PRO_i vita *önmagával_i*]
 'John_i was exhausted by [_{NP}the PRO_i argument with *himself_i*']

Not only deverbal, but also deadjectival nouns (e.g. *pride, loyalty, happiness*), as well as non-derived nouns, which nonetheless express the name of an action or quality (e.g. *war, faith*, etc.) can be assumed to possess an implicit PRO sub-

ject. This PRO can only serve as the antecedent of the anaphor within the NP if the meaning of the matrix predicate allows PRO to be controlled by a matrix complement. Cf.

- (47) **A fiúk_i némán figyelték* [_{NPa} *PRO_i kiabálást*
 the boys silently observed the shouting + acc
egymásnak_i]
 each other + dat
 ‘**The boys_i silently observed* [_{NP}*the PRO_i shouting to each other_i]*’
- (48) *A fiúk_i élvezték* [_{NPa} *PRO_i kiabálást* *egymásnak_i]*
 the boys enjoyed the shouting + acc each other + dat
 ‘*The boys_i enjoyed* [_{NP}(*the*) *PRO_i shouting to each other_i]*’
- (49) **János_i irigyli* [_{NPaz} *PRO_i elégedettséget* *önmagával_i]*
 John envies the contentment + acc himself-with
 ‘*John_i envies* [_{NP}*PRO_i contentment with himself_i]*’
- (50) *János_i elérte* [_{NPaz} *PRO_i elégedettséget* *önmagával_i]*
 John achieved the contentment + acc himself-with
 ‘*John_i achieved* [_{NP}*PRO_i contentment with himself_i]*’

An anaphoric complement and a pronominal complement appearing alternatively in a deverbal or deadjectival NP (e.g. in (42) and (43)) are not optional variants; they differ in reference. The personal pronoun, unlike the reflexive, has to be understood as free within its governing category, i.e. free from the implicit PRO subject of the N. So, if this PRO is controlled by the subject of the matrix V, the personal pronoun is in disjoint reference both with the PRO and with its controller, the matrix subject. Cf.

- (51) (a) *János_i megviselte* [_{NPa} *PRO_i vita* *vele_j]*
 John + acc exhausted the argument with-him
 ‘*John_i was exhausted by* [_{NP}*the PRO_i argument with him_j]*.’

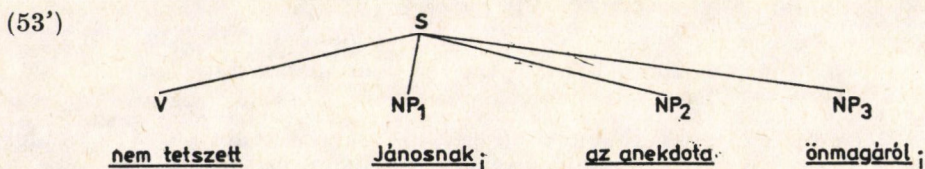
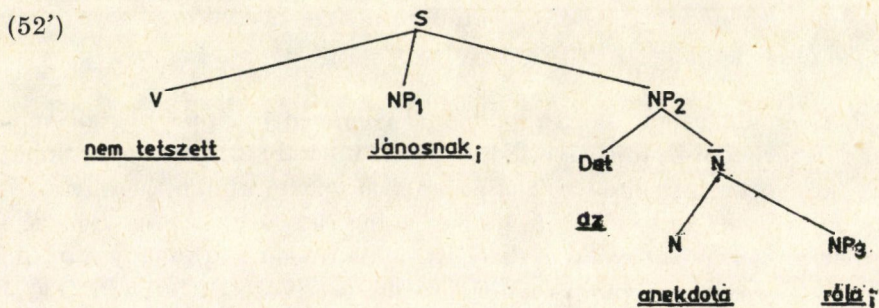
The PRO subject of a deverbal or deadjectival N — unless acting as the binder of an anaphor — does not necessarily have an explicit controller in the sentence. If a N head has a noncontrolled PRO subject, the pronoun complement of the head is in obligatory disjoint reference only with this unspecified PRO; however, it can be understood as coreferent with the NP’s outside its governing category, e.g. with the matrix subject. Cf.

- (51) (b) *János_i megviselte* [_{NPa} *PRO_j vita* *vele_{i/k}]*
 John + acc exhausted the argument with-him
 ‘*John_i was exhausted by* [_{NP}*the PRO_j argument with him_{i/k}]*.’

In the other type of structure allowing the alternation of a reflexive with a personal pronoun, illustrated by (44)–(45), the anaphoric and pronominal alternatives can have the same reference, which is unexpected, since Binding Theory predicts anaphors and pronominals to be in complementary distribution. Their free alternation, however, also follows within the framework of the Binding Theory if the sentence displaying the alternation is assigned two different structures. Therefore, it will be assumed that in (44), rewritten here as (53), the NP *önmagáról*, originally a complement of the N *anekdota*, has been reanalyzed as a complement of the matrix V. The original structure of (53) is represented by (52).

- (52) *Jánosnak_i nem tetszett [NP_{az} anekdota róla_i]*
 John + dat not pleased the anecdote about-him
 'John_i did not like [NP_{the anecdote about him_i].'}

- (53) *Jánosnak_i nem tetszett [NP_{az} anekdota] [NP_{önmagáról_i}]*
 'John_i did not like [NP_{the anecdote}] [NP_{about himself_i].'}



In (52) NP₃, coindexed with NP₁, is represented by a pronominal because its governing category is NP₂, so it is free within its governing category. In (53), on the other hand, NP₃ is represented by an anaphor because its governing category is the S, so it has an antecedent within its governing category.

The claim that in (53) the anaphor appears as a result of a reanalysis is also supported by the fact that the corresponding left-branching construction, in which such a reanalysis is impossible, is ungrammatical (unless the anaphor

is bound within the picture NP by an implicit PRO subject controlled by the matrix subject, i.e. unless 'the teller of the anecdote' is János):

- (54) **Jánosnak_i* nem tetszett az *önmagáról_i* szóló anekdota.
 John + dat not pleased the himself-about speaking anecdote
 'John_i did not like the anecdote dealing with *himself_i*.'

- cf. (55) *Jánosnak_i* nem tetszett a *róla_i* szóló anekdota.
 John + dat not pleased the about-him speaking anecdote
 'John_i did not like the anecdote dealing with *him_i*.'

English complex NP's allowing this kind of reanalysis have been described in the literature as picture NP's (cf. Bach—Horn 1976, Chomsky 1977, Koster 1978, Erteschik—Shir 1981). The hypothesis that complex picture NP's can be reanalyzed as two sister NP's — at least in the presence of certain matrix V's — has been put forward to explain that extraction is possible out of them. Unfortunately for the present theory, in English the set of matrix V's allowing a binding relation between a matrix complement and an anaphoric complement of a picture N seems to be larger than the set of matrix V's allowing extraction out of a picture NP. E.g. in the presence of the V *destroy* a picture NP can have a reflexive complement bound by a matrix complement, but it cannot undergo partial extraction. Cf.

- (56) (a) *John_i* destroyed a picture of *him_i*.
 (b) *John_i* destroyed a picture of *himself_i*.
 (57) (a) ? *What (picture)_i* did John destroy *t_i* of *himself*?
 (b) **Of whom_i* did John destroy a picture *t_i*?
 (c) ? *Who_i* did John destroy a picture of *t_i*?

In Hungarian, on the other hand, the two symptoms of reanalysis are not in conflict:

- (58) (a) *János_i* megsemmisített egy képet *róla_i*.
 John destroyed a picture about-him
 (b) *János_i* megsemmisített egy képet *önmagáról_i*.
 John destroyed a picture about-himself.
 (59) (a) *Mit_i* semmisített meg János *t_i* *önmagáról*?
 what + acc destroyed perf. John about-himself
 'What did John destroy of himself?'
 (b) *Kiről_i* semmisített meg János *egy képet t_i*?
 about-whom destroyed perf. John a picture + acc
 'Of whom did John destroy a picture?'

There is some correlation between the binding properties and the extraction properties of picture NP's complementing a certain V in English, too: namely, the picture NP complement of a V allowing no extraction is more likely to behave as a governing category (i.e. to have a personal pronoun instead of a reflexive coindexed with a matrix argument) than the picture NP complement of a V allowing extraction. Cf.

- (60) (a) *John_i* read a book about $\begin{Bmatrix} \textit{himself}_i \\ \textit{?him}_i \end{Bmatrix}$
 (b) *What_i* did John read *t_i* about *himself_i*?
 (c) *Who_i* did John read a book about *t_i*?
 (61) (a) *John_i* attacked a book about $\begin{Bmatrix} \textit{him}_i \\ \textit{?himself}_i \end{Bmatrix}$
 (b) **What_i* did John attack *t_i* about *himself_i*?
 (c) **Who_i* did John attack a book about *t_i*?

Picture NP's containing a genitive specifier are said to allow neither extraction, nor the coindexing of an anaphoric complement of the N with an argument of the matrix V. I would rather say that these operations are merely more difficult in the case of picture NP's containing a genitive specifier than otherwise. Cf.

- (62) (a) *?A lányok_i* olvasták János könyvét *önmagáról_i*.
 the girls read John's book + acc themselves-about
 '*?The girls_i* read John's book about *themselves_i*.'
 (b) *?Kinek a könyvét_i* olvasták a lányok *t_i* *önmagukról?*
 whose book + acc read the girls themselves-about
 '*?Whose book_i* did the girls read *t_i* about *themselves?*'
 (c) **Kiről_i* olvasták a lányok János könyvét *t_i*?
 who-about read the girls John's book + acc
 '*About whom_i did the girls read *John's book t_i*?
 '*Who_i did the girls read *John's book about t_i*?

It is precisely the difference between the grammaticality of (62a) and that of e.g. (53) for the handling of which Chomsky included the notion of subject in the definition of governing category. According to him, (62a) is ungrammatical because in it the NP containing a subject is a governing category for the anaphor, and so the anaphor has its antecedent outside its governing category. In the present framework, on the other hand, the question arises in the following way: Why are complex picture NP's containing a genitive specifier

more difficult to reanalyze than subjectless picture NP's? My answer is very tentative: perhaps a version of the Recoverability Principle is responsible for it, which blocks the removal of a major category from under the scope of a marked specifier.

3.3. A consequence of the definition of governing category proposed by Chomsky (1981) is that the subject of a NP, having no SUBJECT accessible to it in the given NP, has the matrix sentence as its governing category. On the basis of this, we would expect that, on the one hand, the pronominal subject of a NP has to be free in the matrix S, and, on the other hand, the subject of a NP, if coindexed with a matrix argument, has to be represented by an anaphor. That is, (63a) and (64a), in which a pronoun is bound in its governing category, are predicted to be ungrammatical, while (63b) and (64b), in which an anaphor is bound in its governing category, are predicted to be grammatical.

- (63) (a) $János_i$ [NP_{az} $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \theta_i \\ \delta_i \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ autójával] ment el.¹⁰
 John the his car-with went away
 'John_i drove away in [NP_{his_i} car].'
 (b) $János_i$ [$NP_{a\ magai}$ autójával] ment el (nem a máséval).
 John the himself's car-with went away not with someone else's
 '*John_i drove away in [$NP_{himself's_i}$ car] (not in someone else's).'

¹⁰ Hungarian is a PRO-drop language. As the subject of a N is coindexed with the AGR marker of the N, which unambiguously determines its person and number, a pronominal subject need not be spelt out. Cf.

- (i) az $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \emptyset \\ \acute{e}n \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ autó-m
 the my car -AGR(sg.1st)
 'my car'

The pronominal subject of a N is spelt out only exceptionally, in the case of contrast:

- (ii) Az én autóm gyorsabb, mint a tied.
 the my car +AGR(sg.1) faster than the yours
 'My car is faster than yours.'

If a pronominal subject is spelt out in the subject position of a NP without any particular reason, we tend to understand it as 'obviative', i.e. as not coindexed in the S. This may be the result of our tendency to interpret it as contrasted; if there is no other possible target, we contrast it with the potential antecedent (in (iv) with the matrix subject). Cf.

- (iii) $János_i$ az $\theta_{1(j)}$ autó + já + val ment el.
 John the car + AGR(sg.3) + with went away
 'John_i drove away in his_{1(j)} car.'
 (iv) $János_i$ az $\delta_{1(j)}$ autójával ment el.
 John the his car + AGR(sg.3) + with went away
 'John_i drove away in his_{j(j)} car.'

- (64) (a) *A lányok_i [NP_{paz} { θ_i
 δ_i } autójukkal] mentek el.*
 the girls the their car-with went away
 'The girls_i drove away in [NP_{their_i} car].'
- (b) *A lányok_i [NP_{egymás_i} autójával] mentek el.*
 the girls each other's car-with went away
 'The girls_i drove away in [NP_{each other's_i} car].'

As for the English examples, the predictions of the Binding Theory fail in three out of four cases (in (63a), (63b), and (64a)); they are borne out only in the most marginal case of all, in (64b). As for Hungarian, the predictions come true in two cases out of four ((63b) is acceptable if the anaphor is set into contrast); however, they come true in the marginal cases. The basic patterns that make up the great majority of the actually occurring binding relations, exemplified by (63a) and (64a), are not handled by Chomsky's definition of governing category.

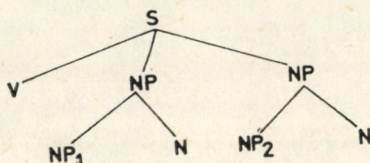
The modified concept of governing category proposed in this paper, on the other hand, correctly predicts the grammaticality of (63a) and (64a). It also correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of the English (63b); it is only (64b) and the Hungarian version of (63b) that it does not cover. For the handling of these cases an auxiliary principle is assumed that allows the anaphoric subject of a NP to be coindexed with an element of the matrix S containing the NP. That is, while the presence of a personal pronoun bound by a matrix argument is allowed in the subject position of a NP by the Binding Theory, the presence of an anaphor is allowed there by another, looser coreference rule. This rule seems to be constrained by the same primacy condition as the rule determining the coreference possibilities of pronouns outside their governing category.

The anaphoric subject of a NP, as expected, must be coindexed with an NP that is more prominent than, or at least as prominent as, the anaphor is. Since an anaphoric subject and its antecedent are not coarguments, in Hungarian the case hierarchy plays no role in their relative prominence. Instead, a structural prominence principle seems to operate, according to which an NP_i is more prominent than an NP_j if NP_i is 'closer to the root of the sentence' (an expression of Koster 1981) than NP_j. (The case hierarchy is, in fact, a supplement of this principle; as in a nonconfigurational language coarguments are at the same distance from the root of the S, a finer means is also needed to establish their prominence relative to one another.) For instance, in (65) the NP₁ argument of the V is more prominent than the NP₂ genitive specifier of the sister argument of NP₁; consequently, NP₁ can be the antecedent of an anaphor in the position of NP₂, but not vice versa.

cause in English it may be an additional condition of coindexing besides the primacy constraint based on the distance from the root of the sentence that the antecedent precede the anaphor. As the analysis of the English equivalents in (73) will show, the latter explanation: the requirement of the antecedent preceding the anaphor is the most probable one.

The anaphoric subject of a NP can also be coindexed with the subject of a coargument of the NP. In Hungarian sentences, in which the two subjects are at an equal distance from the root of the sentence, either of them can serve as either the antecedent or the anaphor; e.g. in (69) either a lexical NP₁ can be coindexed with an anaphoric NP₂, or a lexical NP₂ can be coindexed with an anaphoric NP₁.

(69)



E.g. (70) *Péter_i szavai önmaga_i esélyeit rontották.*
 Peter's words himself's chances + acc spoiled
 'Peter's words spoiled his own chances.'

(71) *Péter_i esélyeit önmaga_i szavai rontották.*
 Peter's chances + acc himself's words spoiled
 'His own words spoiled Peter's chances.'

(72) (a) *Sokat elárultak egymás_i jelleméről a lányok_i szavai.*
 much + acc revealed each other's character'-about the girls'
 words

(b) 'The girls'_i words revealed a lot about each other's_i characters.'

(73) (a) *Sokat elárultak a lányok_i jelleméről egymás_i szavai.*
 much + acc revealed the girls' character-about each other's
 words

(b) '*Each other's_i words revealed a lot about the girls'_i characters.'

But:(c) 'A lot was revealed by the girls'_i words about each other's_i characters.'

The ungrammaticality of (73b), as opposed to (73c), seems to be governed by the same principle as the ungrammaticality of (68b). This principle cannot be the requirement of c-command, as the antecedent does not c-command the ana-

phor either in the ungrammatical (73b) or in the grammatical (73c). According to the evidence of (74) and (75), it cannot be the primacy principle of the distance from the root of the sentence, either, because this would not explain the difference between the grammaticality of (74a) and (74b), and between the grammaticality of (75a) and (75b), in which the antecedent and the anaphor are certain to be at the same distance from the root of the sentence. Cf.

- (74) (a) A lot was revealed by *the girls*'_i words about *each other*'_{s_i} characters.
 (b) *A lot was revealed by *each other*'_{s_i} words about *the girls*'_i characters.
- (75) (a) A lot was revealed about *the girls*'_i characters by *each other*'_{s_i} words.
 (b) *A lot was revealed about *each other*'_{s_i} characters by *the girls*'_i words.

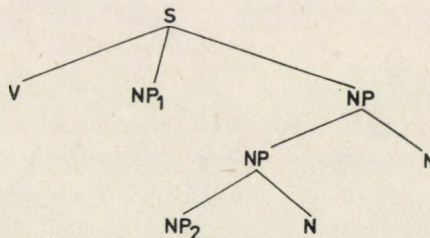
The most probable explanation of the ungrammaticality of (73b), also covering (68b), (74b), and (75b), is that in English a genitive anaphor must be preceded by its antecedent.

In (76) below the coreferent interpretation of *a lányok* and *egymás* is certainly prevented by the 'A over A' principle. If both a genitive specifier and the NP including the genitive specifier are possible antecedents of an anaphor, obviously the higher NP is interpreted as the antecedent:

- (76) [[*A lányok*]_j *vőlegényeinek*]_i tetszettek *egymás*_i fényképei.
 the girls' fiancés + dat pleased each other's photos
 '[[*The girls*']_j *fiancés*]_i liked *each other*'_{s_i} photos.'

The local domain within which a genitive anaphor must have its antecedent does not seem to have a clear border. Coreference is best if both the antecedent and the anaphor are within the same clause; but the transgression of a clause boundary by the coreference relation does not radically change acceptability, merely reduces it. Within a clause, the distance of the genitive anaphor and its antecedent is not constrained. For instance, a NP can serve as the antecedent of the genitive specifier of the genitive specifier of one of its coarguments; that is, in (77) NP₁ can serve as the antecedent of an anaphoric NP₂.

(77)



E.g. (78) *A lányok_i összetörték egymás_i vőlegényének autóját.*
 the girls broke each other's fiancé's car + acc
 'The girls_i broke each other's_i fiancé's cars.'

The Hungarian sentences in which the antecedent and the anaphor are in different, subjacent clauses, though not ungrammatical, have no clear interpretation. E.g.

- (79) (a) *?A lányok féltek, hogy egymás jelöltjei nyernek.*
 the girls feared that each other's candidates win
 (b) 'The girls were afraid that each other's candidates would win.'

A Hungarian native speaker would formulate the intended meaning of (79) as follows:

- (80) *Mindkét/mindegyik lány félt, hogy a másik jelöltje nyer.*
 both /each girl feared that the other's candidate wins
 'Both girls were afraid/each girl was afraid that the other's candidate would win.'

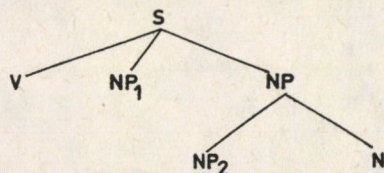
Chomsky's definition of governing category predicts (79) to be grammatical for the following reason: the anaphor has an accessible SUBJECT only in the main clause; so its governing category is the whole complex sentence; consequently the anaphor is bound in its governing category. However, in (81) the governing category of the anaphor, within which it has an accessible SUBJECT, is the subordinate clause; consequently the anaphor has its antecedent outside its governing category. Nevertheless, (81) — at least in Hungarian — is not worse than (79), so there is no reason to attribute its marginality to a cause not present in (79).

- (81) *?A lányok féltek, hogy a tévé-vita egymás
 the girls feared that the TV-debate each other's
 jelöltjeinek kedvez.
 candidates +dat favours
 'The girls were afraid that the TV-debate would be favourable to each
 other's candidates.'*

While the binding possibilities of anaphors and pronominals within their governing category are opposite to each other, the conditions of their conference outside their governing category are the same — at least in the respect of primacy. (As for locality, the coreference of an antecedent and a personal pronoun is naturally not restricted to a single clause.) A personal

pronoun can be coreferent with an antecedent if the antecedent is more prominent than the pronoun. So in (82) NP₁ can be the antecedent of a personal pronoun in the position of NP₂, but NP₂ cannot be the antecedent of a pronoun in the position of NP₁, as NP₁ is closer to the root of the sentence than NP₂.

(82)



From this it also follows that a nonconfigurational language does not display any weak cross-over phenomena. In (83) and (84) the coreference of the coindexed NP's is possible because in them the antecedent is more prominent than the pronoun; while in (85) the coreference of the coindexed NP's is impossible because in them the pronoun is more prominent than the anaphor.

- (83) (a) János_i szereti az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyját.
 John loves the his mother+acc
 'John_i loves his_i mother.'

- (b) Ki_i szereti az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyját?
 who loves the his mother+acc
 'Who_i loves his_i mother?'

- (c) Mindenki_i szereti az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyját.
 everyone loves the his mother+acc
 'Everyone_i loves his_i mother.'

- (84) (a) János_i szereti az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyja.
 John+acc loves the his mother
 'His_i mother loves John_i.'

- (b) Kit_i szeret az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyja?
 whom loves the his mother
 'Whom_i does his_i mother love?'

- (c) Mindenkit_i szeret az $\begin{Bmatrix} \theta_i \\ \zeta_i \end{Bmatrix}$ anyja.
 everyone+acc loves the his mother
 'His_i mother loves everyone_i.'

- (85) (a) **János_i anyja szereti őt_i.*
John's_i mother loves him_i.
- (b) **Kinek_i az anyja szereti őt_i?*
 whose the mother loves him
 'Whose_i mother loves him_i?'
- (c) **Mindenkinek_i az anyja szereti őt_i.*
 everyone's the mother loves him
 'Everyone's_i mother loves him_i'.

In the case of two equally prominent NP's either of them can be represented by a pronoun, and can be coindexed with the other one. E.g.

- (86) Sokat elárultak *a lányok_i* jelleméről $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a & \theta_i \\ az & \delta_i \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ szavaik.
 much+acc revealed the girls' character-about the their words
 'Their_i words revealed a lot about the girls'_i characters.'
- (87) Sokat elárultak $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a & \theta_i \\ az & \delta_i \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ jellemükről *a lányok_i* szavai.
 'The girls'_i words revealed a lot about their_i characters.'

The coreference of a pronoun with a lexical NP is, naturally, not restricted to the case when the pronoun is a genitive specifier. Any pronominal complement of a N can be coreferent with an NP outside its governing category if the NP is more prominent than, or at least as prominent as, the pronoun is.

- E.g. (88) *Jánosnak_i tetszett a róla_i készült kép.*
 John+dat pleased the about-him taken picture
 'John_i liked the picture taken of him_i.'

While the disjoint reference of *róla* and *kép* is ensured by the Binding Theory, the coreference of *róla* and *Jánosnak* is allowed by the coreference rule in question.

4. Summary

The paper has examined the primacy and locality conditions of binding in a nonconfigurational language. It has been found that an antecedent must be more prominent than the anaphor bound by it in a nonconfigurational language, too; merely that there prominence relations are determined not structurally but on the basis of case. A case hierarchy has been set up, and it has been claimed that a binder must precede the bound element in this hierarchy.

The hypothesis has also been raised (merely on a speculative level) that the structural argument hierarchy of configurational languages and the case hierarchy of nonconfigurational languages are the realizations of the same underlying hierarchy of semantic-conceptual notions.

The notion of governing category, specifying the local domain of binding relations, has been significantly simplified for Hungarian. The governing category of an argument of a V is claimed to be the minimal S including it, while the governing category of an argument of a N is claimed to be the minimal NP including it. It has been argued that the apparent counter-examples to this latter claim follow from independent reasons. In the case of deverbal and deadjectival N's, the apparent binding relation between an anaphoric argument of the N and an argument of the matrix V is always mediated by an implicit PRO argument of the N, as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{ccc} S & V & NP_i \quad [NP_{PRO_i} \quad N \quad NP_i] \\ & & [+anaphor] \end{array} \right]$$

The anaphoric complement of a picture N can be bound by an argument of the matrix V because the picture N and its complement can be reanalyzed as two sister complements of the V, in which case the governing category of the complement of the picture N is the matrix S:

$$\left[\begin{array}{ccc} S & V & NP_i \quad NP \quad NP_i \\ & & [+picture] \quad [+anaphor] \end{array} \right]$$

An anaphor in the position of a genitive specifier can marginally also be coindexed with an antecedent that is outside its governing category, the NP. The coreference rule of genitive anaphors is claimed to fall outside the Binding Theory, and is shown to be constrained by the same principle of 'distance from the root of the sentence' as the rule determining the coreference possibilities of pronouns outside their governing category.

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TOPIC-FOCUS AND SOME TYPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN HUNGARIAN*

By

ANGELA MARCANTONIO

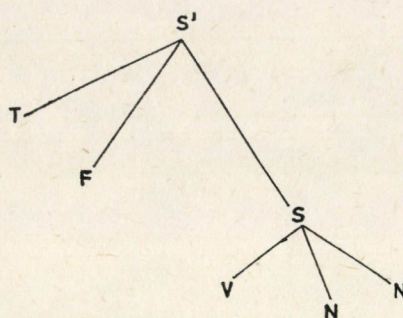
1. In this paper I would like to deal with the much debated question of Topic (T) and Focus (F) in Hungarian, showing how we can approach it within a framework different both from theories of "speech acts" (according to which T/F are regarded as purely communicative notions) and from (purely) syntactic models (according to which T/F are stated as purely syntactic notions). Indeed, purely communicative models are quite unsatisfactory because they rest on the dubious assumption of direct correlation between communicative principles and grammatical processes, while adopting quite vague notions. On the other hand, also purely syntactic models, like the one proposed by É. Kiss (1981a, 1981b), pose some problems.

Let us take É. Kiss' proposals about the structure of T/F in Hungarian. She convincingly argues that "Hungarian sentences (S), which are generally held to have a free — in other words, idiosyncratic — surface order, do possess an invariant structure. What is more, this structure is characterized by the same types of structural relations that have been identified in the standard Indo-European languages — only the function of its structural relations differ radically from the subject (SU), indirect object (IO), direct object (DO), and other functions expressed, for example, by English sentence structure. The functions of the distinguished structural positions of Hungarian sentences are independent of the case structure, which, by the way, is indicated by a rich morphological system [...] Hungarian sentence structure marks constituents from a communicative point of view: its distinguished structural units function as topic and focus". To explain the grammatical and ungrammatical word order combinations she proposes that Hungarian Ss have the following structure:

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I also wish to thank Marcello Durante and Giorgio R. Cardona, of the University of Rome, not only for their comments, but also for having addressed me to the study of Hungarian. Of course, the responsibility for everything said below is my own.

- (1) (a) S' —————→ T F S⁽¹⁾
 (b) S —————→ V N N



that is, the surface S will derive from a deep structure consisting of an initial V with an unordered set of arguments, and two “slots” — the Topic and the Focus slot — posited to the left of the V according to the invariant order of (1). The T and F are generated as empty nodes which can be filled from among the postverbal constituents by two optional substitution transformations: “Topicalization” and “Focusing”, that is two “core transformations” of the form “Move α ”. “[The T-position], the prestress part of the sentence, is occupied by one, or more, or null complements of the V, pronounced at an even middle pitch, and is also often separated by a slight pause from the rest of the S. The complements in T-position have a so-called topic interpretation; that is, they serve as an introduction to the message of the S, or as a transition from the preceding context. [. . .] The S stress, accompanied by a high fall, is always on the first constituent of the sentence part from which T has been set off, i.e. on the first constituent of what is called, from a communicative point of view, the c o m m e n t. So, if [the F-position] is filled, it necessarily bears the sentence stress. It can only be filled by one complement of the V. The complement [in F] functions as focus; that is, it is the most emphatic constituent of the S from a semantic-communicative point of view,

¹ This rule has been simplified for expository purposes. Cf. Kiss 1981 a for the complete formulation. To make the rule more comprehensible, É. Kiss’ table on p. 187 is reproduced below:

TOPIC	TOPIC	FOCUS			
			SZERETI	JÁNOS	MARIT
			SZERETI	MARIT	JÁNOS
		JÁNOS	SZERETI	MARIT	
		MARIT	SZERETI	JÁNOS	
	JÁNOS		SZERETI	MARIT	
	MARIT		SZERETI	JÁNOS	
MARIT	JÁNOS		SZERETI		
JÁNOS	MARIT		SZERETI		
	JÁNOS	MARIT	SZERETI		
	MARIT	JÁNOS	SZERETI		

also. [...] In the cases where F has remained empty, sentence stress falls on the V'.² Note that according to (1), the post-verbal positions of the complements are neutral from the point of view of communicative functions, that is complements in such positions have no particular communicative role. Notice, furthermore, that indefinite and negative arguments cannot be moved into T, where, according to Kiss "the qualification preventing the indefinite and negative arguments from being topicalized are in connection with the semantic role of the topic".

2. Accepting the state of affairs outlined above, we could raise the following two questions (the second of which can be considered a corollary of the first one):

a) Why are in Hungarian the functional notions of T/F organized in the form of an invariant, inherent structure of the S? That is, why cannot the topicalized and focused elements, respectively, occupy other positions than indicated in (1)? Putting it in more general terms: the communicative functions should allow people to organize the discourse according to their communicative requirements; so we would expect T/F to work quite freely, and therefore to constitute an independent system, with its own rules, although interacting deeply with the sentence-structure of the grammar, as seems to be the case in many languages. Instead the notions of T/F in Hungarian turn out to be rigidly incorporated into the structure of the S, constituting the invariant structure of the S. Thus, it would be of some interest to investigate why this should be so.

b) Hungarian shows several features characteristic of an SOV language, such as suffixes, postpositions, determinant preceding the determinatum, as shown in the following Ss:

- (2) Az asztal mellett / két óra felé³
 the table close / two o'clock toward
 'close to the table / around two o'clock'

- (3) Találkoztam a barát-om-mal
 I-met-1 sg. suff friend-poss suff-dat suff
 'I met a friend of mine'

- (4) a szép nő / a padló-n ülő nő
 the beautiful woman / the pavement-loc suff sitting woman
 'the beautiful woman the woman sitting on the pavement'

² Note that the S-stress on the V is less prominent than the S-stress on the N.

³ poss = possessive; suff = suffix; dat = dative; loc = locative.

Furthermore, such properties are rigidly preserved, in that alternative choices are not allowed. On the other hand, the order of the nominals (N) of the V is not SOV, and is instead governed by the functional categories, according to the invariant structure stated in (1). As a matter of fact, given a V having two Ns, a and b, the following orders are possible (the capital letter indicates the focused element (cf. Szabolcsi 1981):

- (5) V a b / A v b / a V b / a B v
 V b a / B v a / b V a / b A v
 a b V
 b a V

where the reciprocal internal order of V and its arguments is clearly and rigidly determined by filling in the T/F positions with one or the other of the verbal arguments. So our (b) question could be so formulated: how can we accommodate the (apparent?) contradiction according to which a large part of the linear organization of Hungarian Ss is governed by quite a coherent typological principle—the principle according to which languages having suffixes, postpositions etc. are SOV languages — (cf. Greenberg 1966), while such a principle fails to govern just the mutual positions of V and its arguments (both in main and in subordinate Ss)? In other words, why is in Hungarian the linear superficial ordering of arguments controlled only by the functional T/F notions and not, as one would expect, by the above mentioned typological — structural principle?

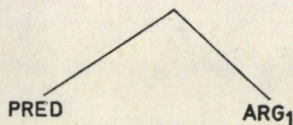
Before exposing my point of view about the above mentioned problems, let me quote the following words from É. Kiss (1981 b, 360): “Brassai (1860) raised the hypothesis that the Subject—Predicate structure relates to the T/Comment [. . .] structure [. . .], the Subject being a marked case of T. This may well be the case, namely Subject—Predicate languages perhaps came into being as a result of specific restrictions on the rule of Topicalization. The restriction may specify an order of availability for Topic role, or may make the topicalization of the arguments in the nominative compulsory, or may forbid the topicalization of more than one argument. These constraints have a wide range of consequences for the whole syntax of given languages”. Now, I would like to show that this is precisely the case, not only for Subject—Predicate languages like Italian, but also for Topic-prominent languages like Hungarian. Actually, the rule of Topicalization plays a very important role in determining the superficial linear ordering of arguments in languages, but such a role is more comprehensible and explainable if we regard T (and, of course, F) as defined within a well founded typological model, as the one proposed by Antinucci (1977, see below).

3. I shall now expound the model I am adopting, very briefly, i.e. without justifying its underlying assumptions. I shall merely point out that such a model is not constructed on the basis of empirical data, through an inductive method, but is based on a deductive method, on a coherent and well motivated theory. According to Antinucci (1977), there are not many types of languages, as proposed by Greenberg but only two basic types: languages which "build or construct toward the left" and languages which "build or construct toward the right" in the following way (the V being considered as the starting point):

- (6) (a) left-constructing languages (LCL) ... N N V
 (b) right-constructing languages (RCL) V N N ...

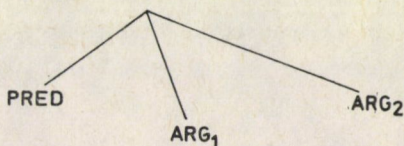
The principle governing the linear ordering of arguments is called the CONSTRUCTIVE PRINCIPLE (CP). This is a "projection-rule" which maps a deep semantic structure of the type PREDICATE (ARGUMENTS) into a superficial linear structure in the following way: given a minimal S-structure, that is a PREDICATE with only one ARGUMENT, the CP puts or expands the argument either to the left or to the right of the V (actually there are a priori no other possible solutions):

- (7) a V N
 b N V



Given a V with two arguments, we could obtain a priori six possible solutions,⁴ but according to CP, we get only the two following linearizations:

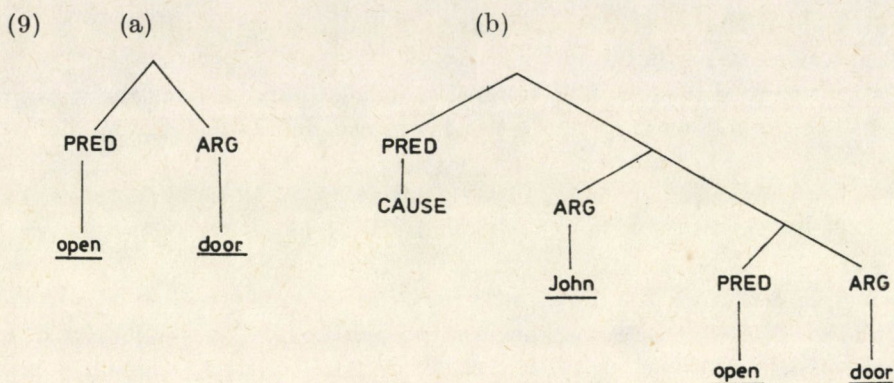
- (8) a V N N
 b N N V



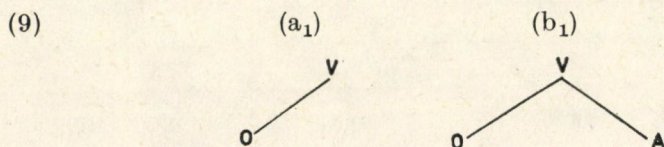
that is, the CP expands all nominals to the left or to the right of the V, depending on the intrinsic structure of the language. As far as the mutual internal order of the arguments is concerned, a further specification of the CP, the so-called INCREASING PRINCIPLE (IP), states that, the more you add to the minimal semantic representation, the more you add to the linear representation (always to the left or to the right), the increasing of the semantic content

⁴The six possible orders are the following: V N₁ N₂; V N₂ N₁; N₁ N₂ V; N₂ N₁ V; N₁ V N₂; N₂ V N₁.

of the S being paralleled by the increasing of the linear structure. Let's look at an example: the semantic representation of (a) *the door opens* and (b) *John opens the door* are, respectively:



where structure (b) can be considered as derived from structure (a) by adding to it further ARGUMENT-structure. In Fillmoreian terms (a) would have the representation (a₁), while (b) would have the representation (b₁):



it is evident that in (b₁) a second role, the A(gent), has been added to the minimal semantic representation (a₁), which is constituted by the V and its Objective case (Fillmore 1968, 25). Now, given a V having as arguments a DO and an A, the CP and the IP predict that the linearization of the semantic content of S will give rise only to N N V or V N N with the following internal structure:

- (10) (a) RCL: V N_O N_A
 (b) LCL: N_A N_O V ⁵

⁵ As can be seen, I do not deal here with the linearization of other (possible) arguments of the V, such as for example the indirect Object (IO), because this is not relevant for our purposes. Anyway, theoretically, the IO should be linearized after the linearization of the DO has taken place and before the linearization of the A takes place, so that in RCL the superficial linear order should be: V N_O N_I N_A while in LCL: N_A N_I N_O V. Antinucci's model also deals with the linearization of the other fundamental parts of the S, such as adverbs, subordinate Ss, auxiliaries and modal Vs etc. Of course, this is not the right place to expose such a rich typological system in detail. For our purposes it is worth noting, however, that all other, non-nuclear elements of the S are expanded only after all the nuclear elements have been expanded. It goes without saying that the expansion is always carried out according to the CP/IP.

At this point, to explain the existence of S O V languages, the model needs another principle, which constitutes an integral part of the mechanism of projection in the sense that it governs just such a mechanism with regard to the T/F articulation of the S. This is the so-called **MECHANISM OF TOPICAL CHOICE (TCM)**, which, for communicative purposes, tends to move any topicalized element toward the beginning of the S. So the TCM constitutes an independent system, with its own rules of functioning, although deeply interacting with the CP, both being part of the same mechanism of projection. There is, however, one main difference between TCM and CP: CP governs the ordering of elements according to the left/right structure of the language and to the semantic value of the arguments; TCM governs the ordering of elements with regard to their communicative value within the S.

Of course, the operating of the TCM may not always agree with the operating and the restrictions of the CP, determining, as Kiss says, "a wide range of consequences for the whole syntax of a given language". By investigating the interacting of the two principles in more detail, it turns out that the restriction imposed on language by the topical principle — i.e. moving the topicalized element toward the left — may deeply contrast with the restriction imposed on it by the CP — that is, the 'recoverability' of the semantic/grammatical role of the arguments may be at risk, such a recoverability being achieved (as we have seen) by the linear superficial order. For the sake of clarity, let's take a formal example. In a right building language, the internal order of arguments, as determined by the CP and the IP, is V N_O N_A. If we move one element to the front of the S for communicative purposes, thus obtaining the structure N V N, we may run the risk of obscuring the reciprocal grammatical roles of the Ns. Of course, languages dispose of several means to avoid such an ambiguity: for example, they can mark morphologically each verbal argument, so that any argument can be moved freely — as in the so-called ergative and accusative/nominative languages.⁶ Or languages can mark V morphologically assigning to it different kinds of conjugations — diatheses — depending on which nominal has been topicalized, i.e. A, DO, or IO. This is the case in Tagalog. Other languages, like Italian, can decide to topicalize quite normally and systematically one particular argument which is considered (for pragmatic,

⁶ According to our model, the difference between ergative and nominative/accusative languages consists in the following things: the nominative/accusative languages, but not the ergative languages, adopt the same system of topical choice as Italian, that is: they choose one element as topic, which becomes the grammatical Subject in most cases (if the V has only one argument, in Fillmorian terms, either an agentive complement or an object complement, exactly this argument is topicalized and functions as the grammatical Subject; this is the case in both Italian and Latin). From what I have said it turns out that the nominative marker does not necessarily mark the deep semantic role of the verbal argument; rather it marks the topicalized argument. On the other hand, in ergative languages, each morphological marker marks the real semantic role of the argument with respect to the V, as is testified by the fact that the subject of intransitive Vs, if it is not a real semantic Agent, takes the same morphological marker as the DO of transitive Vs.

psychological reasons) as the more neutral candidate for the topic role. That is, some languages tend to topicalize always the same element, mostly the Agent of the action, according to the order of availability for topic role. As a result of such a constant topical movement, the Agent tends to surface before the V, becoming the grammatical Subject of the S. So, the resulting N V N (N) sequence tends (to a greater or lesser extent) to "grammaticalize", to become structurally rigid, in the sense that it becomes independent of the actual choice of the topicalized element. As a matter of fact, in Italian other elements can be topicalized as well, and thus moved toward the left. If the Agent is topicalized, giving rise to the SOV sequence, the S is considered neutral both from the grammatical and the functional point of view (and not "marked", as Brassai says); if however, an element different from the Agent (which is now the grammatical subject), is topicalized, the S is considered marked, as is shown by the optional presence of a morphological marker, the clitic pronoun:

- (11) a Franco, Mario gli ha dato un libro
 to Franco, Mario to-him has given a book

To conclude, in languages like Italian and English, there is a topical movement which is governed by the "active" form of the V, this active form represents the "non-marked" diathese. It is worth noting, however, that the moved element still retains its functional topical value in that must represent old, or at least, not new information. Furthermore, Italian provides good evidence in favor of the model sketched above: in fact, in Old Italian the topicalization of the Subject was not yet grammaticalized, and the Agent was moved to the front of the S only if it actually represented old information (Marcantonio 1976). Finally, there are languages, like Turkish, which mark morphologically the DO only provided it is definite; this is the case in the so-called "definite-accusative" languages.

Before leaving this topic, it is worth mentioning that Antinucci model's not only predicts, but also explains Greenberg's (empirically stated) universals. It also explains why (most) (S)OV languages have the order postpositions, suffixes, determinants/determinatum whereas (most) VO(S) languages exhibit just the opposite order, that is prepositions, prefixes, determinatum/determinants etc. . . . These phenomena, too, according to Antinucci, are the result of the operating of the CP/IP on a semantic deep structure represented as a PREDICATE/ARGUMENT structure.⁷

⁷ In Antinucci's model first the PREDICATE (that is, the V) is projected and then its arguments. From a semantic point of view, the so-called Prepositions and Pospositions belong to the category PREDICATE and the noun with which they cooccur is the ARGUMENT. Consequently in a SOV language we would expect the order ARGUMENT PREDICATE, while in a VOS language the order is PREDICATE ARGUMENT. That is why we have post- and pre-position respectively (in their original, etymological sense of the term): 'at home' in a VOS language and 'home at' in a SOV language.

4. Let's turn now to the questions a) and b). In what follows I want to argue that such questions are easily answered — and therefore the contradiction mentioned in b) easily solved — if we approach the problems using Antinucci's model.

Let's start with the main question, i.e. a). In this case a plausible answer immediately comes up: in Hungarian, too, there must have been a process of "grammaticalization" of the topical function, by fixing its position at the beginning of the S. This grammaticalization has been achieved differently in Hungarian and Italian, with different effects on the superficial structure of S given the different intrinsic typological structure of Hungarian. As a matter of fact, I assume that Hungarian is an SOV language (for the above mentioned presence of suffixes, pospositions etc.); in a SOV language, according to our typological model, there is no contrast between the CP and the operating of the topical function, both mechanisms expanding elements toward the left. Furthermore any element can be moved freely to the front of the S, given that the recoverability of the semantic/grammatical roles is ensured by a rich morphology. So, since the process is constant, and in no way disturbed by any interfering process, the position itself starts becoming rigid, while the communicative function is obviously preserved. In other words, while in Italian the topicalized element actually has become the grammatical Subject of the S, in Hungarian, given its intrinsic SOV structure, this cannot be the case. Therefore only the T-position can be grammaticalized, that is, fixed at the beginning of the S, without playing any grammatical role with regard to the V. If all this is correct, we could also explain why the T-position occupies just the first position in the linear sequence (from a purely structural point of view a priori other positions could have been possible as well). If we consider the T-position as the result of a process of grammaticalization of the (originally) independently working topical function, its first position is automatically justified, while other positions are at the same time theoretically excluded. To summarize, investigating such syntactic phenomena from a typological point of view, we can assume that in Hungarian too, as well as in many other languages, the topical mechanism, at least in earlier stages of the language, must have operated quite freely, interacting with the intrinsic S O V pattern of the S, until it has undergone the process of grammaticalization. As a result of the grammaticalization, the topicalized element must always occupy the first position of the S, giving rise to the invariant structure formalized by Kiss (as far as the F-position is concerned, see later).

5. At this point the following question arises quite naturally: are there any independent arguments to support what has been stated so far with regard to the question a)? In this section I am going to show that there are such arguments, even if they are quite indirect, given that they are based on

diachronic facts. More precisely, I will support my hypothesis of the "grammaticalization" of the topic position by arguing that in Proto-Uralic (P-U) and/or earlier stages of Hungarian topic position was not grammaticalized. In other words, the statements made in section 4. will turn out to be independently motivated if we can show that P-U and old Hungarian had a freely working TCM, of the kind appropriate to its intrinsic syntactic and typological structure, as predicted by the typological theory.

As a matter of fact, investigating the results of the relevant Finno-Ugric studies, one discovers a set of very interesting data: first, the DO of P-U had two morphological markings: *-m* or *-Ø* (Hajdú 1966, 1972), in particular, the unmarked object of the S referred to an indeterminate object, while the object form with the suffix *-m* pointed to a determinate, definite object (Hajdú 1972, 42). In addition, the specific Hungarian accusative marker *-t*, too, was originally used only in connection with definite objects (see later). Second, while other arguments of the V had their own markers, the nominative was unmarked.⁸ Third, "the usual word order (of the P-U) was SOV. Apart from this, another important word order can be generalized for the proto-language, according to which the rectum (modifier), preceded the regent (modified) of the construction . . . The adverbial complement was placed before the part of the S determined by it . . . In all probability, there were also postpositions" (Hajdú, *ibidem*). — Notice, by the way, that this last statement constitutes a good piece of evidence in favor of my previous assumption, according to which Hungarian can be classified as an SOV language —.

Now, by taking into consideration the above syntactic properties, we can classify P-U (within an SOV language) as a "definite-accusative" language, like Turkish. Actually, in Turkish the DO, if definite, receives a special marker while, if indefinite, it remains unmarked; furthermore Turkish is an SOV language, where all arguments, except the Agent, are morphologically marked. According to our typological model, the morphological marker of the definite DO was originally not used to mark the definiteness of the Object but rather its topicalness. In other words: in SOV languages like Turkish, if the Agent is the topicalized element, there are no problems; if however the DO is chosen as topic, it will precede the Agent, in this way destroying the linear order as stated by the IP (see Section 3.) with the obvious consequence of creating grammatical ambiguity. So Turkish marks the topicalized DO, standing before the V, with a morphological signal. On the other hand, since topic elements represent old information, they tend to be interpreted as definite, thus justifying the commonly accepted opinion according to which such languages mark the definiteness of the DO. Notice, by the way, that this last

⁸ Notice that there is another case which, according to Hajdú, was not marked, and that is the "genitive" case. This fact does not constitute a problem for our arguments, because the genitive is not a direct, nuclear argument of the V.

statement is not an explanation: in fact, why should only the DO be treated in this way but not other complements, that is why should definiteness be relevant only in connection with the DO? Moreover, why should just definiteness, and not indefiniteness be marked in the language? However, our analysis easily accounts for all these questions and at the same time explains why only the DO is marked if topicalized: the Agent doesn't need it, for the above mentioned reasons (see CP/IP). The other nominals do not need it either because they are already marked.

It is evident at this point that the same analysis applies to P-U and old Hungarian: the ending *-m*, which is commonly regarded in Finno-Ugric literature as the "marked" morphological ending, specifically used to denote definite objects, is nothing but a means of marking the topicalized DO. Such a mechanism of topical choice has later been extended to Hungarian, given the specific original use of the accusative ending *-t* (Wickman 1955 and the authors quoted there for the original value of *-t*). It is also worth noting that, as testified by Finno-Ugric studies, the accusative ending *-t* was probably a demonstrative element.

In sum, then, on the basis of the above mentioned data, we can safely conclude that both P-U and old Hungarian had a "normal", non-grammaticalized mechanism of topical choice, which worked according to its internal rules, and was therefore detached from the structural/grammatical pattern of the S.

6. Before addressing the problem concerning the F-position, (in order to give an exhaustive answer to question a)), I have to make a brief digression in order to discuss some facts which seem to me to be relevant for the present discussion.

As known, Hungarian has a definite *vs* indefinite conjugation,⁹ the definite conjugation being used in connection with definite DO, as shown in:

- (12) *az ember-t lát — ja /ember-t lát -ő*
 the man-acc see — de suff/(a)man-acc see

On the other hand, the accusative ending *-t* is used for any type of object, regardless of whether it is definite or indefinite. At first sight, it would thus seem that modern Hungarian does not confirm the claims made in the preceding

⁹ Numerous attempts have been made to give an adequate account of the morpho-syntactic phenomenon of definite/indefinite conjugation in Hungarian — one can find an exhaustive listing of the various proposals advanced in this regard in Tóth 1975, 6. Tóth correctly criticizes these proposals, and claims that "a rendszer rendező elve az alany és tárgy személye összeütközésének (coincidenciájának) elkerülése." [The principle governing the (word)-order is avoiding the coincidence/overlapping between the person of the subject and that of the object]. I think that the explanation he proposes is not completely satisfactory, in the sense that it is not clear what Tóth means by 'összeütközésének elkerülése', and what the theoretical background of such a principle is.

section, that is: the existence in P-U and old Hungarian of a "normal", non-grammaticalized mechanism of topical choice and, consequently, the original "topical nature" of the accusative ending *-t*. I think, however, that modern Hungarian may provide some arguments in favour of these claims, if the syntactic phenomena it presents are regarded as predictable results of a well defined, intrinsically determined, diachronic evolution. Unfortunately, nothing reliable can be said about the history of the Hungarian language, because of the lack of documents (the first written texts are too recent to be relevant for my purpose).

Nevertheless, I would like to sketch a hypothesis about how the facts under discussion could have evolved, in a way which is coherent both with the adopted model and the results of Finno-Ugric studies.

The definite *vs* indefinite conjugation was already present in P-U, where it may first have appeared in the 3° person.¹⁰ In this regard Hajdú says that (1972, 44) when *-se* appeared (in the 3° person), it did not refer to the Subject of the S; on the contrary, it indicated "an indirect reference to the determinate Object". On the basis of what has been said so far the phrase "indirect reference" can be interpreted in the following way: since the P-U period the V had two different conjugations, one "definite" to mark topical DO (which, in turn, was already marked by *-m* in P-U and later by *-t* in old Hungarian), and one "indefinite", that is, unmarked, to refer to the non-topical object.¹¹

This does not mean that both P-U and old Hungarian would have marked topicalness twice, once on the DO and once on the V, thus giving rise to an undesirable redundancy. Rather, the following process took place:

a) First only the DO,¹² and not the V, was marked for functional reasons. Then, for some reason, most likely for analogical reasons the topical accusative ending *-t* (which replaced *-m* in Hungarian), was extended to every DO argu-

¹⁰ According to Hajdú, the duplex conjugation first appeared in the 3° person only. Later, during the independent life of Hungarian, this distinction of the 3° person was transferred to the 1° and 2° persons as well. As far as I know, neither Hajdú, nor other researchers who have dealt with this problem (cfr. Abaffy (1981) and the authors quoted there), have provided a satisfactory explanation for this fact, which is not surprising since it is not possible to exactly reconstruct how and where the extension took place.

¹¹ See again Abaffy 1981 and Radics 1980 for extensive discussions and various hypotheses about the behaviour of nominal and verbal suffixes. In particular, Abaffy refers to many proposals advanced by other researchers. I think that Abaffy's paper is very interesting and illuminating with regard to the problems she raises, but it seems to me that the solutions proposed up to now are not conclusive, in the sense that they are not independently motivated.

¹² Besides Hajdú, Wickman too, (1955, 146) says that "as far as I can see, there is no doubt that: . . . any Uralic languages used the *-m-* accusative, chiefly to denote a definite object, and it seems safe to conclude that this was the original function of the form in question". Notice also the following lines which reflect the state of the art of Finno-Ugric studies (Wickman 1955, 75) "the Hungarian accusative ending is *-t* . . . probably it was originally a demonstrative element. Then it may be supposed to have been used earlier to denote the definite object and to have expanded its function later also to indefinite object" (italics mine).

ment, either topicalized or not — in fact, such analogical extension has been regarded as possible in the Finno-Ugric literature (Wickman 1955, 75).¹³ This extension is quite understandable since all other arguments were already marked.

b) After the extension of *-t* to non-topicalized DO, old Hungarian still went on for a while marking the topicalized DO (and/or definiteness), adopting a different means of marking, the definite diathesis, even if at that stage this marking, was no longer necessary since the semantic/grammatical role of DO was easily retrievable.

c) At a third stage, which reflects the present state of affairs, the grammaticalization of the T-position made the further morphological marking of the topicalized DO redundant, so that the marked/definite diathesis was used to mark definiteness only, as it is commonly hold. Note that there are cases where the DO may appear without the accusative ending *-t*, as in compounds of the type *víz hordani* (quoted by Wickman 1955, 75), that is, in the case of so-called "reduced complements", very frequent in Hungarian. At this regard Wickman says that this could be considered "a heritage from ancient times, when the Object of a verbal-noun (as he calls such a compound, AM) was not a real Object, but an attribute of the compound". I would rather say that such names, for the very reason that they were not real names in the full sense of the term, could not be topicalized and therefore could not receive the accusative/topical marking.¹⁴ Notice furthermore that if one accepts this view one

¹³ For further discussion about the origin of the Hungarian accusative marking see Beke (1931), Collinder (1952).

¹⁴ It should be pointed out that besides Abaffy who correctly hints at the relationship between the SOV typological structure and the grammatical/topical function of the accusative marking and/or the definite suffix of the verb (of course, without solving the problem), Radics (1980, 47) explicitly says that the marked, definite suffix is used to signal the non-standard order (O)S V: "Á szerkezet típus alapján azt mondhatjuk, hogy a testes harmadik személyű szuffixum akkor került az igére, ha az igét megelőző főnév ige alanyként volt értelmezhető, s zéró állt ugyanezen a helyen, ha az igét megelőző főnév az ige tárgyának szerepét töltötte be. Ez a helyzet még tovább értelmezhető. Mivel SOV típusú nyelv volt a megelőző korszakokban a magyar nyelv előzménye, talán az is föltehető, hogy a normának megfelelő OV sorrendet egykor mindenféle szerkezet típusban zéró személy jelölő jelölte az igén, a normától eltérő (O)SV sorrendet viszont testes morféma. . . . Szabályos SOV szórend esetén ragtalan volt az ige, a kommunikációs igények miatt bizonyára meglevő O S variánsokban testes harmadik személyű morféma jelölhette a 3^o személyt". (On the base of the typological system, one can say that the 3^o person suffix appeared on the V when the noun preceding the verb itself was to be interpreted as a subject, while the suffix did not appear on the V when the preceding noun had the role of the object. This state-of-affairs may have further consequences. Since the antecedent of the Hungarian language was a SOV language, one can assume the following: the "normal" OV order was marked by the Ø-morpheme for the 3^o person on the V in every kind of construction, while the OSV order, which deviated from the norm, was marked by a full morpheme. . . . In the case of normal SOV order, the V remained without suffix, in the case of OS order (which certainly existed for communicative purposes), a 3^o person morpheme could mark the 3^o person). Although Radics does not take into account the presence of the definite accusative marking and (the presence of) the definite accusative conjugation, and she does not motivate her claims, she intuitively provides an analysis similar to mine.

may also explain the existence of definite *vs* indefinite conjugation in Hungarian. At the same time one receives a satisfactory answer to the following obvious question: why should Hungarian mark (on the V) definiteness, and not, say indefiniteness, and why just the definiteness of the DO, and not of other complements, too?

7. Next, I will examine the F-position (even if this point is not very well developed in Antinucci's model with respect to SOV languages) in order to see if this position, too, can be regarded as the result of a process of grammaticalization, and to explain why it should stand just before the V. In fact, I will show that the F-position, rigidly placed immediately before the V, can receive sufficient motivation within the framework I have adopted.

Trying to identify what kind of function governs that part of the S which does not represent old information, Antinucci maintains that the structure of the S defines as new information all that part of the S which derives from successive expansions of the S itself in accordance with the CP and the IP. That is, with regard to Hungarian, an SOV language, elements which stay to the left, and therefore, before the V, included the V itself (with the obvious exception of the topicalized element) can represent, structurally, new information. If this is correct, the fact that F-position stands before the V is consistent with the intrinsic nature of the language, given that its CP and IP tend to expand elements toward the left of the V, building up stepwise the whole S.

It must not be overlooked that the main stress of the S falls on the first major category in F-position or on the finite V if the F-position is empty; furthermore, even if "most Foci (i.e. most expressions in F-position) are necessarily contrastive, their predominant semantic characteristic being the fact that they represent an exhaustive listing" (see Szabolcsi 1981, 519 ff.) that is, specifically identify one member of a limited set of possible alternatives, this is not always the case. In other words, F-position in Hungarian can contain elements not necessarily strongly emphasized and not necessarily contrastive. The focused element (if there is one) is normally a member of the COMMENT (as also É. Kiss explicitly says (see 1981a, 3)), that is, of that part of the S which contains information about the Topic and which, in Hungarian, normally stands to the left of the V (and includes the V as well). More precisely, the F-position represents the most informative part of the COMMENT, specifically marked to this effect, this part being often, but not necessarily, contrastive. To summarize, then, F-position stands before the V because of the intrinsic SOV structure of Hungarian, and after T-position because of the intrinsic properties of the TCM.

As far as "grammaticalization" of the F-position is concerned, I think, such a claim seems to be completely justified in view of the grammaticalization of the T-position and the rigid position of the focus before the V.

I shall conclude this section with a few final remarks. First, it is worth noting that there are other SOV languages which present a syntactic and functional structure similar to that of Hungarian, such as Boni,¹⁵ a member of the East Cushitic family closely related to Somali, and Somay. So, for example, in Boni SS are generally constructed in such a way that they present two constituents as the center of information: the element in Topic and the one in Focus. The formal device by which this bipolar structure is established is word-order: generally, the first N of S represents the Topic, and the last N (or adverbial phrase), if present, together with the V, represents the COMMENT. Between these two poles, the remainder of the constituents are generally ordered in a relatively consistent hierarchical sequence, proceeding from lower to higher information value.

Even if these data are strikingly convergent with the structure of Hungarian, providing further (indirect) support to our analysis, they raise the following question: why are in Hungarian the elements which are neither Topic nor Focus not placed between these two main positions, as in Boni? In fact, this would also follow from our typological model, which predicts the expansion of all the elements to the left of the S, regardless of their functional role. At present, I have no answer to this problem.

8. After having answered question a), the answer to question b) follows from it automatically: the contradiction is only apparent in the sense that all the elements of the S are (at least on diachronic grounds) governed by the CP; the fact that the order of the verbal arguments is controlled by T/F position is a consequence of the grammaticalization of the T/F functions. The grammaticalization itself is a normal and predictable consequence of the concomitant operation of the CP and TCM principles.

9. Before concluding, let me mention two more points which may be of interest for the arguments developed so far.

First, note that our assumptions about Hungarian allow us to account very easily for the ungrammaticality of the following sequences (Szabolcsi 1981, 521) while this would not be possible if a purely syntactic model were adopted:

(13)	(a)	(b)	(c)
	A b v / v	A b / a v B	
	B a v / v	B a / b v A	
		v a B	
		v b A	

¹⁵ See the paper by Sasse, in which the author illustrates very clearly the important role of communicative functions and how these functions interact with the intrinsic SOV pattern of the S in Boni, in a way very similar to Hungarian.

As a matter of fact, all the sequences listed above violate at least one of the principles of the projection mechanism, that is either the TCM or the CP/IP or both, for example: in (a) and (b) the topical element stands at the end and not at the beginning of the S, in (b) the focused element too, stands after the V, thus violating the CP/IP; in (c) only the CP/IP is violated.

Second, consider the lack of passive constructions in Hungarian. In this regard É. Kiss (1981b, 353) says that the passive is missing because it represents a means of filling up the empty place of a Subject, while in Hungarian the Subject as such does not constitute a unit in the syntactic-structure, the marked constituents being, instead of the Subject, the T/F positions. Instead of the passive, one encounters constructions of the type:

- (14) a házat építik / az áldozatot meggyilkolták
 the house-acc build-they/ the victim-acc they-have-killed

I think that Kiss' account is not completely adequate since it does not provide any explanation for the fact that most of topic-prominent languages lack passive constructions (Li-Thompson 1976). In my opinion passive is a marked diathesis of the V. We have seen that marked diatheses are means of marking the non-neutral choice of the topicalized element. Italian, too, has a passive construction, which is used when the Object and not the Agent, is chosen as topicalized element and moved in front of the V thus becoming the grammatical Subject (as the result of the above mentioned "grammaticalization" of the topical function). On the other hand, according to the typological approach I have adopted, and assuming the intrinsic SOV structure of Hungarian, a language such as Hungarian simply does not need a passive construction.

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TYPOLOGISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR REKONSTRUKTION DER URALISCHEN PERSONALSUFFIXE

Von
KATALIN RADICS

0.1. In einer früheren Studie wurde versucht, anhand einer empirischen Untersuchung relativ zahlreicher, zum größten Teil nicht verwandter Sprachen einige Züge der Typologie der Paradigmen von affigierten Possessiv- und verbalen Personalendungen zu skizzieren. Für die historische Herausbildung wurden alternative Möglichkeiten aufgezeigt (Radics 1980). In der vorliegenden Untersuchung werden einerseits Schlußfolgerungen in bezug auf die uralischen Sprachen genauer herausgearbeitet, andererseits versuche ich von den typologischen Zusammenhängen ausgehend, eine Theorie für die Entstehung der Personalsuffixparadigmen der uralischen Sprachen zu umreißen. Die Studie bleibt im Rahmen der Syntaxtypologie, was bedeutet, daß mit syntaktischen und morphosyntaktischen Kategorien und Symbolen gearbeitet wird und nicht mit konkreten Morphen bzw. Allomorphen; unberücksichtigt bleiben weiters die innerhalb der Diachronie der Einzelsprachen zu erklärenden Sonderentwicklungen. Die hier dargestellte Hypothese kann in diesem Sinne in Teilen oder im Ganzen von diachron-komparativen Untersuchungen (unter Berücksichtigung der lautlichen Zusammenhänge) falsifiziert, modifiziert oder bestätigt werden.

0.2. In der vorliegenden Studie werden folgende Punkte detailliert dargestellt:

Die suffigierten Possessivparadigmen und die suffigierten verbalen Personalparadigmen sind in der Sprachfamilie gleichzeitig entstanden (1.).

Für die Diachronie der uralischen Sprachen kann der rekonstruierbaren Grundsprache der Form SOV vorausgehend, eine Sprachperiode des serialen Typs VSX (Prädikat + Subjekt + Sonstiges) angenommen werden (2.).

Die Klitisierung und darauffolgend die (zumindest Teilweise) Agglutinierung der Personalpronomina bzw. Possessivpronomina ging in der postulierten Sprachperiode des serialen Typs VSX vor sich (3.).

Durch die Klitisierung und Agglutinierung wurden sowohl Pronomina in nominativer Funktion, als auch Pronomina in akkusativischer Funktion

zu verbalen Personalsuffixen. Es entstanden also verbale Personalsuffixparadigmen mit Verweis auf das Subjekt und Verweis auf das Objekt (4.).

Zur Zeit der Agglutinierung folgten die Verbalparadigmen dem nominativen Schema, in dem Sinne, daß die Personalsuffixe für das Subjekt transitiver wie auch intransitiver Sätze gleich waren und — mit Ausnahme einer Person — den Possessivsuffixen ähnlich waren; ein hievon abweichendes Paradigma bezeichnete das Objekt transitiver Sätze (5.).

Zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Herausbildung folgten die Paradigmen dem „pronominalen Schema“. In das verbale Paradigma wurde erst später — wahrscheinlich in der Periode SOV — ein Suffix für die dritter Person adaptiert (6.).

Typologie und grammatiktheoretische Überlegungen zeigten, daß es wert wäre, die Geschichte der verbalen Personalsuffixe parallel mit der Entstehung der Kasussuffixe — vor allem des Nominativs und Akkusativs — neu zu überlegen (7.).

1. Eine allgemeine Aussage der Diachronie der uralischen Sprachen ist, daß die Personalsuffixe aus Pronomina über eine Zwischenstufe der Klitisierung an den Wortstamm agglutiniert wurden. Diese Theorie braucht nicht besonders begründet zu werden; sämtliche sprachgeschichtliche Schulen und Forschungsrichtungen gehen von dieser Grundlage aus, auch wenn für das eine oder andere Personalsuffix kein Pronomen, sondern ein andersartiges Sprachelement als Ausgangspunkt angenommen wird. Bedeutend größere Auffassungsunterschiede betreffen die Frage, zu welchem Zeitpunkt die Klitisierung-Agglutinierung stattfand, und damit zusammenhängend, ob die Herausbildung des verbalen Personal- und des Possessivparadigmas gleichzeitig oder in verschiedenen Sprachstadien vor sich ging.

1.1. Was das Ungarische betrifft, existieren drei in vielen ihrer Teilbereiche verschiedene Theorien. Einige Forscher halten das Possessiv- und das verbale Personalparadigma für gleich alt und verlegen ihrer Herausbildung in die finnisch-ugrische bzw. uralische Grundsprache (Györke 1943; Hajdú 1966; Itkonen 1962; Mark 1929; Mészöly 1931), andere sprechen sich zwar auch für die Gleichzeitigkeit der Agglutinierung der beiden Paradigmen aus, halten sie aber für eine Sonderentwicklung des Ungarischen (und dementsprechend wären die damit vergleichbaren Paradigmen der übrigen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen ebenfalls relativ neuer Erscheinungen) (Bárczi 1963; Bárczi—Benkő—Berrár 1967; Berrár 1957; Rédei 1962). Eine dritte Richtung schließlich behauptete, daß zuerst das Possessivparadigma entstand und später analog dazu die verbalen Paradigmen (Melich 1914; Klemm 1928).¹

¹ Es ist interessant, daß in gewissen sprachgeschichtlichen Studien neben phonologischen und morphologischen Kriterien auch solche Ausführungen auftauchen, nach denen eine synthetische Sprache mit „höherem“ Sprachbau auf höheres Denken, auf

Aufgrund sprachtypologischer Daten können alle drei Theorien — jeweils unter anderen Gesichtspunkten — in Frage gestellt und eine alternative Hypothese aufgestellt werden, die trotz der bestehenden Unterschiede jener Theorie am ähnlichsten ist die die gemeinsame finnisch-ugrisch-uralische Abstammung vertritt.

1.2. Anhand eines Vergleichs von 19 Sprachen kam ich zu dem Schluß, daß in den Sprachen das Vorhandensein eines suffigierten Possessivparadigmas das Vorhandensein eines suffigierten Verbalparadigmas voraussetzt (op.cit. s. 6.). Diese Schlußfolgerung ist in dieser Form — wie fast alle empirischen Verallgemeinerungen — natürlich nur eine Hypothese, denn die Anzahl der Sprachen (ausgestorbene und auch heute noch gesprochene) mit synthetischer Personalbestimmung ist natürlich viel höher. Die Hypothese bleibt solange aufrecht, bis eine lebende (nicht rekonstruierte) Sprache sie widerlegt.

Die aufgrund empirischer Basis aufgestellte Hypothese lautete: Wenn eine Sprache Px (Possessivsuffixe) hat, hat sie auch Vx (verbale Personal-suffixe). Bekanntlich kann aufgrund implikativer Universalien die Typologie der behandelten Erscheinungen so dargestellt werden, daß drei existierende und ein nicht existierender Sprachtyp postuliert werden. Für die vier Sprachtypen (L₁—L₄) gilt:

	Px	Vx	
L ₁	—	—	(Chinesisch, Japanisch)
L ₂	—	+	(Französisch, Estnisch)
L ₃	+	+	(Ungarisch, Takelma)
*L ₄	+	—	—

Einer der vier Sprachtypen ist ausgeschlossen: nämlich der mit Px, aber ohne Vx.

Die implikativen Universalien können auch historisch interpretiert werden. Das wird dadurch ermöglicht, daß der sprachliche Wandel auf Unterschiede zwischen den, zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkt existierenden Varianten basiert, in dem jeder synchronische Querschnitt einer der „möglichen“ Varian-

„ungarische“ Denkart hinweise. Von meiner Seite lehne ich diese Koppelung von grammatischen Erscheinungen mit Werturteilen nicht nur deshalb ab, weil sie weder empirisch noch theoretisch beweisbar ist, sondern auch darum, weil solche Urteile — implizit — jene Sprachen falsch einschätzen, in welchen umgekehrte Entwicklungen vor sich gehen, in welchen z. B. die synthetische Struktur von einer analytischen Struktur abgelöst wird. Sprachtypologische Untersuchungen werden heute mit der stillschweigend angenommenen Behauptung gemacht, daß der grammatische Bauplan der gesprochenen und rekonstruierten Sprachen im Wesentlichen den gleichen Entwicklungsgrad darstellt. Darüberhinaus entdeckten die sprachtypologischen Untersuchungen, daß die grammatischen Erscheinungen, welche früher als „ungarische Spezialität“ galten, in einer Reihe von Sprachen vorkommen.

ten menschlicher Sprachen ist (vgl. Jakobson 1958, 1963). Die historische Interpretation schließt natürlich nicht aus, daß zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt mehrere Varianten gleichzeitig existieren. Die obige Typologie der suffigierten Personalendungen läßt alle jene Wandeltypen zu, in welchen $*L_4$ nicht teilnimmt. Die Wandeltypen der gegebenen Erscheinungen können folgendermaßen dargestellt werden:

Entstehen von Vx:	$L_1 \rightarrow L_2$
Verswinden von Vx:	$L_2 \rightarrow L_1$
Entstehen von Px:	$L_2 \rightarrow L_3$
Verswinden von Px:	$L_3 \rightarrow L_2$
Vx und Px entstehen gleichzeitig:	$L_1 \rightarrow L_3$
Vx und Px verschwinden gleichzeitig:	$L_3 \rightarrow L_1$

Im Licht der historischen Interpretation der implikativen Zusammenhänge kann also — auf die uralischen Sprachen bezogen — die These, nach der zuerst das Possessivparadigma und dann das verbale Paradigma entstanden wäre, abgelehnt werden; dieser Wandeltyp würde nämlich den ausgeschlossenen Sprachtyp $*L_4$ voraussetzen ($L_1 \rightarrow *L_4$, bzw. $*L_4 \rightarrow L_3$). Mit anderer Argumentation kam G. Mészöly (1931, 64 ff.) auf ein ähnliches Ergebnis, die Argumente Péter Hajdús (1966, 74) sind den hier vorgetragenen ähnlich.

1.3. Die Typologie der implikativen Zusammenhänge widerspricht also der Theorie, nach der zuerst das Possessivparadigma und dann erst das verbale Personalparadigma entstanden wäre. Mit einer solchen Theorie wird heute gar nicht mehr gerechnet. Sollte aber einmal eine ähnliche Theorie auftauchen, dann müssen die obigen typologischen Daten berücksichtigt werden, bis nicht zumindest eine solche Sprache gefunden wird, die die typologische Korrelation widerlegt, d. h. in der die possessiven Personalendungen synthetisch, die verbalen Personalendungen jedoch analytisch ausgedrückt werden. In diesem Fall erhält die typologische Implikation einen statistischen Charakter, bei mehreren solchen Sprachen verliert sie ihre Aussagekraft.

1.4. Die Theorie, nach welcher die Possessiv- bzw. verbalen Personalparadigmen gleichzeitig entstanden wären, wird bis zu einem bestimmten Grad von der ebenfalls typologischen Aussage unterstützt, daß mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in den Sprachen die Lautstruktur des possessiven Paradigmas mit der Lautstruktur eines (oder mehrerer) verbalen Paradigmas(-en) identisch oder zumindest ähnlich ist (vgl. Radics 1980, . . .). Dieser Zusammenhang wäre allein jedoch nicht ausreichend, um die gleichzeitige Herausbildung der beiden Paradigmen zu beweisen, es ist ja theoretisch durchaus vorstellbar,

daß die lautliche Ähnlichkeit durch die ähnliche Funktion der beiden Paradigmen hervorgerufen wurde. Es ist also vorstellbar, daß auch in solchen Fällen eine lautliche Identität oder Ähnlichkeit vorliegt, wo zuerst das verbale Paradigma und später erst das Possessivparadigma entstanden ist (der obige Wandeltyp $L_2 \rightarrow L_3$). Da jedoch in den historisch-komparativen Untersuchungen über die uralischen Sprachen ein derartiger diachroner Wandel nicht in Frage kommt, wird im Folgenden mit diesem Wandeltyp nicht gerechnet.

2. Nach meiner Theorie ist das suffigierte Possessiv- und das suffigierte Verbalparadigma also gleich alt. Wann sind sie entstanden? Wie bereits erwähnt, nehmen einige Forscher als Zeitpunkt dafür die Entstehung in der finnisch-ugrischen bzw. uralischen Grundsprache an, nach anderen Linguisten wären die Paradigmen erst im Sonderleben der uralischen Sprachen entstanden; für das Ungarische käme die urungarische Sprachperiode in Frage. Die Diskussionspunkte der beiden Annahmen lassen sich auf unterschiedliche Betrachtung morphologischer und phonologischer Prozesse innerhalb der historisch-komparativen Forschung zurückführen:¹ Es geht nämlich um die Frage, wodurch sich die Unterschiede in den verbalen Personalsuffixen der uralischen Sprachen erklären lassen; zeigen z. B. die Suffixe vor allem im Singular der unbestimmten Konjugation im Ungarischen, die nicht pronominaler Herkunft sind, den ursprünglichen Zustand, oder sind sie durch Umstrukturierung aus einem älteren pronominalen Paradigma entstanden? (Vgl. z. B. Bárczi 1963, 57 ff.; Bárczi—Benkő—Berrár 1967, 417—419; anders Mészöly 1931, 64—67; Hajdú 1966, 144). Möglichkeiten für verschiedene historische Erklärungen läßt auch die Tatsache zu, daß in den uralischen Sprachen die Reihenfolge der Kasussuffixe + Possessivsuffixe verschieden ist (vgl. z. B. Bárczi 1963, 56; anders Györke 1943), weiters läßt sich auch die Entwicklung des Konsonanten im Suffix der zweiten Person auf mehrere Arten erklären (Bárczi 1963, 56; anders Hajdú 1966, 134—135).

2.1. Ich möchte jetzt zu den Diskussionspunkten der historisch-komparativen Linguistik eine derartige syntaktisch-typologische Überlegung hinzufügen, die die Beurteilung der oben skizzierten morphologischen und lautgeschichtlichen Fragen beeinflusst, genauer: einige Alternative ausschließt.

Im Rahmen der historisch-komparativen Forschung der uralischen Sprachen wurde allgemein die Wortfolge als vorrangige Erscheinung der Syntax nicht systematisch untersucht. Das sprachgeschichtliche Handbuch des Ungarischen stellt z. B. fest, daß „die Veränderungen der Wortfolge keinen selbständigen Wandel darstellen, sondern Begleiterscheinungen, Folgen von anderen grammatischen Veränderungen sind“ (Bárczi—Benkő—Berrár 1967, 428). Wir können dieser Feststellung insofern zustimmen, daß die

Wortfolge — wie jede andere Spracherscheinung — nur im Zusammenhang mit anderen Spracherscheinungen gebühlich behandelt werden kann. Mit jenem Moment der Formulierung, nach dem die Wortfolge keine grammatische Erscheinung wäre oder nur eine relativ geringe Rolle im Leben der Sprachen spielen würde, sind wir nicht einer Meinung, daß ja die typologischen Forschungen seit der berühmten Untersuchung über die Wortfolge von J. H. Greenberg auch in sprachgeschichtlicher Sicht ausdrücklich zeigten, daß die Herausbildung der Wortfolge ein zentrales, wichtiges Kapitel der Grammatik und damit der Syntax ist, und daß eine Reihe grammatischer Erscheinungen gerade in ihrem Verhältnis zur Wortfolge Regelmäßigkeiten zeigen.

Aussagen über die Wortfolge machen gezwungenerweise alle sprachgeschichtlichen Theorien, die die Personalsuffixe aus agglutinierten Pronomina erklären; so wird in der Mehrzahl der erwähnten sprachgeschichtlichen Werke explizit behauptet, daß die suffigierten Formen historisch auf Formen mit der Wortfolge Verb + Pronomen bzw. Besitzgegenstand + Pronomen zurückgehen (z. B. *schneid- + ich*, *Hand + du* usw.). Diese postulierte Wortfolge steht aber kraß im Gegensatz sowohl zur gegenwärtigen wie auch zur rekonstruierten Wortfolge der uralischen Sprachen. Die uralischen Sprachen zeigen — mit Ausnahme des Finnischen, Estnischen und teilweise des Ungarischen und Syrjänischen, wo die Wortfolge SVO aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eine neuere Erscheinung ist — die Wortfolge SOV, und im Possessivverhältnis dementsprechend die Wortfolge GN, Besitzer + Besitzgegenstand,² und so war, nach dem Muster der verwandten Sprachen auch in den rekonstruierbaren Grundsprachen einschließlich der uralischen Grundsprache höchstwahrscheinlich die Wortfolge SOV. Collinder (1960, 259) und Hajdú (1966, 81) kommen mit historisch-komparativen Methoden zur Schlußfolgerung, daß in der uralischen Grundsprache das Verb das Schlußelement des Satzes war.

Die Personalsuffixe konnten daher keinesfalls in der äußerst langen SOV-Periode der uralischen Sprachen entstanden sein, da in Sprachen dieses Typs kaum das isolierte Pronomen in postverbale Position bzw. kaum das Possessivpronomen in Position nach dem Besitzwort geraten konnte. Die unbetonten Pronomina nehmen in diesen Sprachen allgemein dieselbe Position wie die übrigen Nominalphrasen im Satz ein. Der Ausdruck „allgemein“ ist kein Zufall. Es kommt tatsächlich vor (vgl. die romanischen Sprachen), daß vor allem die akkusativischen Pronomina den entgegengesetzten Platz neben dem Verb einnehmen als die übrigen akkusativischen Nominalphrasen. Und auch im Fall der Sprachen mit relativ freier Wortfolge (in der neueren typologischen Literatur mit der Bezeichnung TVX, Topik + Prädikat + Sonstiges)

² Zum Zusammenhang von SOV-Wortfolge mit der Possessivkonstruktion GN vgl. die 2. Universale (S. 110) von Greenberg (1963).

ist es fraglich, inwieweit diese Annahme aufrecht erhalten werden kann (was das Lateinische betrifft, vgl. Herman 1954). Wenn es auch in mehreren Sprachtypen Ausnahmen zur Regel gibt, die Sprachen mit SOV-Wortfolge kennen hier keine. Eine der bezeichnendsten Erscheinungen der SOV-Sprachen ist, daß das suffigierte Verb (Hauptverb oder Hilfsverb) das Schlußelement des Satzes ist; dem suffigierten Verb kann kein einziges Satzelement folgen, das organisch zur Satzstruktur gehört.³

Demnach kann also keinesfalls angenommen werden, daß im Urungarischen oder in einer früheren rekonstruierbaren Grundsprache zurück bis zur uralischen Grundsprache eine derartige Wortfolge bestanden hätte, nach welcher das Pronomen bzw. das Possessivpronomen dem Verb/dem Besitzer gefolgt wäre. Diesem syntaktischen Argument zufolge müssen auch jene morphologischen und lautgeschichtlichen Überlegungen ausgeschlossen werden, welche auf isolierte, nicht suffigierte Pronomina basieren; wir müssen uns jener Theorie anschließen, welche die hier behandelten morphologischen und lautgeschichtlichen Fragen im Rahmen eines synthetischen Modells löst (Györke 1943; Hajdú 1966; Itkonen 1962; Mark 1929; Mészöly 1931).

Die Zusammenhänge der Wortfolge verweisen also darauf, daß die Personalbestimmung in der uralischen Sprachfamilie bis zur entferntesten rekonstruierbaren Sprachperiode zurück, also bis zurück zur uralischen Grundsprache nach synthetischem Muster erfolgte, d. h. die Agglutinierung der isolierten Pronomina kann sich nicht später als in der uralischen Grundsprache vollzogen haben.

2.2. Im Folgenden werde ich zu zeigen versuchen, daß die fraglichen Personalparadigmen sogar noch älter als die uralische Grundsprache sind. Wir müssen annehmen, daß der Grundsprache mit SOV-Wortfolge eine Sprachperiode mit VSX-Wortfolge voranging, und daß die Klitisierung und darauf folgend die Agglutinierung der Personalpronomina bzw. der Possessivpronomina in dieser frühen Sprachperiode vor sich ging.

Wenn die Pronomina in der Sprachperiode mit SOV-Wortfolge nicht an das Verb agglutiniert werden konnten, müssen wir annehmen, daß der SOV-Periode eine Sprachperiode voranging, in der das nominativische und akkusativische Pronomen systematisch in postverbaler Position stand und analog der Besitzer dem Besitzwort folgte. Für diese Sprachperiode kann man annehmen, daß Strukturen wie *vág én, kéz te* 'schneid- + ich, Hand + du' häufig vorkamen. Die Rekonstruktion einer VSX-Periode als Vorgänger der SOV-Periode wird dadurch unterstützt, daß für einige Sprachen (z. B.: Akkadisch, Amharisch) mit historisch komparativen Methoden die Möglichkeit eines derart gerichteten Typenwandels nachgewiesen werden kann. (Darauf basie-

³ Vgl. Greenberg op. cit. 79.

rend postulierte T. Vennemann in seiner Studie über Wortfolge-Typenwechsel den Wandel VSX → SOV, vgl. Vennemann 1974; Radics 1980.)

2.3. Die hier angeführten Schlußfolgerungen gehen mit der neuerdings von R. Austerlitz auf sprachgeographischer Basis angestellten Überlegungen konform. Austerlitz geht davon aus, daß die in sprachgeographischer Hinsicht peripheren Sprachen allgemein konservativer sind, als die Sprachen der Zentralzone und da gerade in dieser Schichtung nichtagglutinierende und agglutinierende Sprachen auf dem Gebiet Nord-Eurasiens rekonstruierbar sind, stellt er fest, daß die Agglutination bei den Sprachen der inneren Gebiete relativ neu ist. Unsere Feststellungen sind also insofern gleich, als wir beide annehmen: Vor der agglutinierenden SOV-Sprachperiode konnten Sprachen mit einer anderen Wortfolge im Gebiet existiert haben. Darüber hinaus versteht Austerlitz unter dem Begriff „Agglutination“ neben anderen grammatischen Erscheinungen auch gerade die Schlußposition des agglutinierten Verbs im Satz, und damit wird auch implizit behauptet, daß in der Vorstufe Prädikat, Subjekt und Objekt eine andere Reihenfolge einnehmen (Austerlitz 1976).⁴

3. Die Übereinstimmungen in den Lautformen der verbalen Personalsuffixe der uralischen Sprachen verweisen darauf, daß schon in der uralischen Grundsprache die Pronomina der ersten und zweiten Person als Suffixe verwendet wurden. Sicherlich existierte in dieser Periode auch schon das possessive Suffixparadigma. Im Verbalparadigma wurde auf die dritte Person durch ein Nullmorphem verwiesen, im Possessivparadigma stand bei pronominalem Besitzer ein volles Morphem, bei nominalem Besitzer Nullmorphem oder ein volles Morphem (vgl. Mészöly 1931, 66 ff.; Hajdú 1966, 140–141). Ein derartiges System ist auch typologisch annehmbar — mit der Bedingung, daß es älter als die uralische SOV-Grundsprache ist.

3.1. In meiner schon zitierten Studie untersuchte ich die Paradigmen des Jurakischen und Ungarischen. Eines der bezeichnendsten Merkmale beider Sprachen ist, daß das transitive Verb systematisch nur das (bestimmte)

⁴ Die Begriffe „Neuerer“, „neu“ (*‘novatrice’, ‘récent’*) von Austerlitz möchte ich im Licht des im Artikel öfters auftauchenden Ausdrucks „Jahrtausend N“ (*‘N millénaires’*) im absoluten Sinn als eher „alt“ interpretieren. Insofern weicht meine Interpretation einigermaßen von der Korhonen (1976) ab, der — sich teilweise auf Austerlitz berufend — eine äußerst interessante Theorie aufstellte über die Erscheinung, warum das durch innere Rekonstruktion und mit komparativen Methoden skizzierte Bild über die früheren Sprachzustände einer Sprachfamilie nicht mit den Relitäten übereinstimmt. Die erwähnten Methoden — und wir können hinzufügen: auch die typologische Methode — nehmen eine zu starke Regelmäßigkeit für die früheren Sprachzustände an. Diese Regelmäßigkeit halte ich für ein Ergebnis der Idealisierung der Rekonstruktion (vgl. Radics 1979), aber im Rahmen des idealisierten Systems halte ich diese Regelmäßigkeit für adäquat.

Objekt dritter Person bezeichnet, ein Objekt anderer Person — das ungarische Suffix *-lak, -lek* bildet die einzige Ausnahme — bleibt unbezeichnet. Gewichtige sprachgeschichtliche Argumente sprechen dafür, daß in erster Linie jene Personalsuffixe, welche gleichzeitig auf das Subjekt des transitiven Verbs und auf das Objekt dritter Person verweisen, mit den Possessivsuffixen zusammengestellt werden können. Von unserer Warte aus gesehen ist jedoch die durchaus nicht seltene Erscheinung bemerkenswert, daß in zahlreichen uralischen Sprachen Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Personalsuffixen für die Bezeichnung des Subjekts eines intransitiven Verbs und den Possessivsuffixen bestehen. Daraus können wir schließen, daß ursprünglich in den uralischen Sprachen sicherlich die Personalsuffixe zur Bezeichnung des Subjekts erster und zweiter Person für transitive und intransitive Verben dieselben waren und daß sie darüber hinaus noch mit den entsprechenden Possessivsuffixen identisch waren. Auf die dritte Person im Verbalparadigma könnte — wie bereits erwähnt — das Nullmorphem verwiesen haben, im Possessivparadigma jedoch ein volles Suffix bzw. fallweise bei lexikalem (nicht pronom.) Besitzer das Nullmorphem. Das System der (verbalen) Subjektbestimmung und der Possessivsuffixe kann systematisch wie folgt rekonstruiert werden:⁵

Str1:	A	Si1:	A	Px1:	A
Str2:	B	Si2:	B	Px2:	B
Str3:	Ø	Si3:	Ø	Px3:	C

A—C sind die agglutinierten Personal- bzw. Possessivpronomina der entsprechenden Person. — Aus der Annahme geht hervor, daß innerhalb der VSX-Periode im Zeitraum vor der Agglutinierung die Personal- und Possessivpronomina, was ihre Lautform betrifft, identisch waren.

4. Obwohl es aus historisch-komparativer Sicht keine Evidenz dafür gibt, muß aufgrund typologischer Überlegungen mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, daß die transitiven Verben in dieser rekonstruierten Form auch Suffixe zur Bezeichnung ihrer Objekte hatten.

4.1. Beim Vergleich einiger nichtverwandter Sprachen kam ich zu dem Schluß, daß die Sprachen mit suffigiertem Possessivparadigma im allgemeinen mehr als ein Paradigma zur Bezeichnung der Personen mehrerer verbalen Aspekte haben; neben dem Subjekt des Verbs wird auch die Person des Objekts ausgedrückt (eine Ausnahme hievon bilden nur die altaischen

⁵ Hier und im Folgenden bezeichnet Str das Subjekt transitiver Verben, O das Objekt transitiver Verben und Si das Prädikat intransitiver Verben bzw. nominales Prädikat.

Sprachen, vgl. Radics 1980). Aufgrund dieser quasi-universalen empirischen Verallgemeinerung können wir mit der Existenz objektbezeichnender Suffixe rechnen.

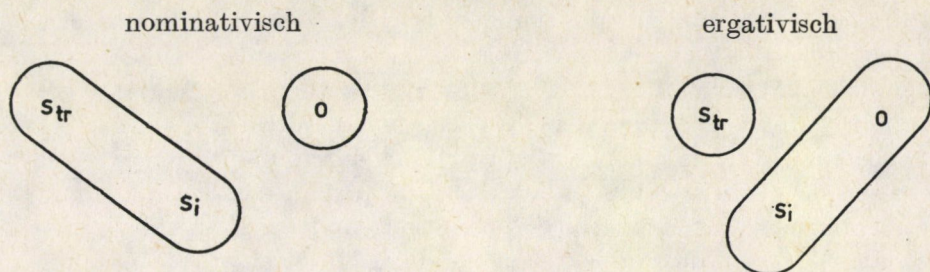
Diese Annahme wird durch die Existenz des ungarischen Morphems *-sak*, *-lek* unterstützt, welches auf Subjekt 1. P. und Objekt 2. P. verweist, seine Herkunft ist umstritten. Weiters wird die Annahme dadurch bestärkt, daß im Mordwinischen (vgl. Ebcebeb 1931, 161–165) neben der Subjektbestimmung ein vollständiges Paradigma zum Ausdruck des Objekts aller drei Personen existiert.

Diese spärlichen, auf das Objekt verweisenden Suffixe können deshalb nicht als Ergebnis einer späteren Agglutinierung gedeutet werden, weil in diesen (späteren) Sprachperioden diese Sprachen SOV-Wortfolge hatten, d. h. das objektbezeichnende Pronomen ging dem Verb voraus, seine Agglutinierung hätte also ein Präfix ergeben müssen.

4.2. Die Beweiskraft allgemeingültiger Gesetzmäßigkeiten ist hier gering, es kann aber neben der obigen konkreteren Argumentation noch folgendes erwähnt werden: R. Hetzron stellte auf ähnliche Ergebnisse von A. Meillet und J. Greenberg aufbauend, eine Hypothese für die semitischen Sprachen auf, nach der unter den verwandten Sprachen die Sprachen mit den heterogensten Systemen im allgemeinen die archaischesten sind.⁶ Aufgrund der Theorie der archaischen Heterogenität kann auch behauptet werden, daß das Mordwinische mit seiner differenzierten Personalbestimmung dem ursprünglichen grundsprachlichen System im hier untersuchten Aspekt am nächsten kommt.

5. Die Strukturformen der Paradigmen, die transitives und intransitives Subjekt bzw. das Objekt bezeichnen, können nach nominativischem bzw. ergativischem Muster gebildet werden. Bekanntlich bezeichnen diese Ausdrücke Formen der nominalen Kasussysteme — aufgrund einer eher „groben“ Typologie. Demnach wäre nominativisch jenes Schema, in welchem die Subjekte transitiver wie auch intransitiver Sätze gleich bezeichnet werden gegenüber den Objekten transitiver Sätze, und ergativisch wäre jenes Schema, in welchem das Subjekt intransitiver Sätze und das Objekt transitiver Sätze gleich bezeichnet werden gegenüber dem Subjekt transitiver Sätze. Schema:

⁶ R. Hetzron stellt die Hypothese wie folgt auf: "If a number of cognate languages each have a system similar to its homologues in the other languages in some respects, but different in other respects — unless one can find a clear conditioning factor for differentiation — the relatively most heterogeneous system might be considered the most archaic, the closest to the ancestor, and the more homogeneous ones might be assumed to have arisen as a result of simplification." (Hetzron 1976, 93).



Wir bezeichnen also die verbalen Personalparadigmen dann als nominativisch, wenn die Markierung für das Subjekt transitiver wie auch intransitiver Verben dieselbe ist, das Objekt jedoch anders gekennzeichnet ist, bzw. ergativisch, wenn das Subjekt intransitiver Verben und das Objekt gleich markiert sind, die Markierung des Subjekts transitiver Verben jedoch davon abweicht.

Zu diesem Schema gehört auch die typologische Tatsache, daß in den Sprachen das suffigierte Possessivparadigma lautlich mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit mit einem der verbalen Personalparadigmen übereinstimmt oder damit zumindest große Ähnlichkeit zeigt. Nominativisch ist demnach die Personalbestimmung in jenen Fällen, in denen das Possessivparadigma mit dem Subjekt- oder dem Objektparadigma übereinstimmt, ergativisch hingegen, wenn entweder das transitive Paradigma oder das intransitive Paradigma (welches zugleich Objektparadigma ist) mit dem Possessivparadigma identisch ist. Schematisch dargestellt und mit jeweils einem Beispiel illustriert (genauer vgl. Radics 1980):

nominativisch:	$Px = S_{tr}, S_i$ (Ketchua)
	oder $Px = O$ (Navaho)
ergativisch:	$Px = S_{tr}$ (Sierra Miwok)
	oder $Px = S_i, O$ (Assiniboine)

Die uralischen Sprachen zeigen entsprechend den Erwartungen auch in ihrer paradigmatischen Struktur ursprünglich nominativische Züge, obwohl dieses ursprüngliche System in einigen Sprachen (z. B. im Ungarischen) stark verändert wurde. Für die uralische Grundsprache und für die vorausgehende VSX-Periode ist anzunehmen, daß die transitiven und intransitiven Verbalparadigmen lautlich mit dem Possessivparadigma übereinstimmten. In der dritten Person war diese Übereinstimmung nicht gegeben, da das Verbalparadigma Nullmorphem hatte, das Possessivparadigma hingegen ein volles Morphem.

6. In meiner zitierten Studie zeigte ich drei typologisch verschiedene Wege der Entstehung von Personalparadigmen. Die Morpheme des pronominalen Paradigma-Typs entwickelten sich alle aus Pronomina und die Besonder-

heit dieses Systems ist, daß das Nullmorphem des Verbalparadigmas zugleich auf das Subjekt wie auch auf das Objekt verwies. Das Adaptationsparadigma ist ein erweiterter Typ des pronominalen Systems; in dieser Variante konnte ich die Entwicklung bestimmter Morpheme für die dritte Person nachweisen (vor allem im Takelma und Sierra Miwok). Das durch Adaptation entstandene Morphem für die dritte Person diente in den Sprachen zur Verhinderung von Zweideutigkeiten, es unterschied — mangels anderer Möglichkeiten — in bestimmten Sätzen das Subjekt vom Prädikat. In einer dritten Gruppe von Sprachen entwickelte sich das Morphem für die dritte Person des Verbalparadigmas und des Possessivparadigmas aus einem Kasusuffix. Wahrscheinlich kann diese dritte Möglichkeit für den Bereich der uralischen Sprachen ausgeschlossen werden, die beiden übrigen Möglichkeiten der Entstehung von Paradigmatypen können dagegen einigermaßen deutlich nachgewiesen werden.

6.1. Es ist ziemlich sicher, daß in den uralischen Sprachen ursprünglich auf das Subjekt dritter Person das Nullmorphem verwies. Diese Tatsache weist auf einen ursprünglich pronominalen Paradigmatyp hin. Einige archaische Konstruktionen des Ungarischen zeigen jedoch an, daß die inzwischen eingebürgerten Morpheme für die dritte Person einst bedeutungsunterscheidende Funktion im Bereich Subjekt-Objekt besitzen konnten. Es gibt nämlich partizipiale Verbalkonstruktionen, in welchen allein die Opposition Nullmorphem — volles Morphem der Vx 3. P. entscheidet, ob die in Kasus-Hinsicht unbezeichnete Nominalgruppe als Subjekt oder als Objekt aufzufassen ist:

<i>világ látott-Ø ember</i>	= ember, aki világot látott
<i>színe hagyott-Ø kabát</i>	= kabát, amely elvesztette a színét
<i>madár látta-a kenyér</i>	= kenyér, amelyet madár-Ø látott
<i>pék sütött-e cipó</i>	= cipó, amelyet pék-Ø sütött

‘Mensch, der die Welt gesehen hat’

‘Mantel, der seine Farbe verloren hat’

‘Brot, welches Vögel gesehen haben’

‘Wecken, welchen Bäcker gebacken haben’

Das Nomen, vor dem mit Nullmorphem gebildeten Verb ist als Objekt aufzufassen, das Nomen vor dem mit dem vollen Morphem gebildeten Verb versteht sich als Subjekt.

Für ähnliche Erscheinungen konnten aus den übrigen verwandten Sprachen leider noch keine Beispiele gefunden werden, nicht zuletzt deswegen, weil die Syntax dieser Sprachen — auch wenn sie schon beschrieben worden

ist — noch nicht im erforderlichen theoretischen Rahmen behandelt wurde und dadurch diese Opposition nicht klar an den Tag gebracht werden konnte. Ich möchte aber nicht ausschließen, daß es ähnliche Erscheinungen in anderen verwandten Sprachen geben könnte.

Diese ungarische Konstruktion läßt schließen, daß einst das paradigmatische System der uralischen Personalsuffixe nach dem Adaptationsschema erfolgte, in dem Sinne, daß ein bestimmtes Suffix für die dritte Person geeignet war, im gegebenen Fall Subjekt und Objekt zu unterscheiden. Aufgrund dieses Strukturtyps können wir feststellen, daß das volle Suffix für die dritte Person dann ans Verb gefügt wurde, wenn das Nomen vor dem Verb Subjekt war; wenn das Nomen vor dem Verb als Objekt aufzufassen war, stand das Nullmorphem. Dieser Zustand kann noch weiter interpretiert werden. Da die Vorstufen des Ungarischen SOV-Struktur hatten, könnte vielleicht auch behauptet werden, daß in der der Norm entsprechenden Struktur OV immer das Nullmorphem, in der von der Norm abweichenden SV-Struktur aber ein volles Morphem ans Verb gefügt wurde. Diese Erscheinung kommt heute in den Partizipialkonstruktionen vor, die in den Analysen der typologischen und generativistischen Schulen als untergeordnete Nebensätze gelten. Da die untergeordneten Nebensätze in mehrfacher Hinsicht konservativer sind als die Hauptsätze, kann man annehmen, daß diese Erscheinung in einem früheren Sprachstadium auch in Hauptsätzen vorkommen konnte und bei SOV-Sätzen Nullmorphem und in den sicher vorhandenen OSV-Varianten hingegen ein volles Morphem die dritte Person bezeichnen konnte.

7. Unter Anwendung der obigen Hypothesen möchte ich im Folgenden versuchen, die Geschichte des uralischen Personalparadigmas genauer zu skizzieren. Die Rekonstruktion bezieht sich natürlich nur auf Morphemtypen und nicht auf bestimmte lautliche Formen.

7.1. Aufgrund der Spuren eines Adaptationssystems im Ungarischen, welches die Fortsetzung des pronominalen Paradigmasystems darstellt, kann angenommen werden, daß in der VSX-Periode sowohl Subjekt wie auch Objekt 3. Person im Verbalparadigma durch Nullmorphem ausgedrückt wurden. Die Annahme eines solchen Systems wird dadurch unterstützt, daß auch nach den Untersuchungen im Rahmen der historisch-komparativen Theorie das Subjekt durch das Nullmorphem ausgedrückt wurde.

Die Personalendungen für das Subjekt werden in der Skizze mit einem Großbuchstaben, die Personalzeichen für das Objekt mit Kleinbuchstaben symbolisiert. Die unausgefüllten Kästchen der transitiven Konstruktionen bezeichnen Reflexiva; in der dritten Person haben wir aber nicht unbedingt mit einem Reflexivum zu tun: Wenn Subjekt und Objekt in 3. Person sind, können sich Subjekt und Objekt referentiell verschieden sein.

intransitiv:

S _i 1Pers	A
S _i 2Pers	B
S _i 3Pers	Ø

transitiv:

		01 Pers a	02 Pers b	03 Pers Ø
S _{tr} 1Pers	A	—	Ab	AØ
S _{tr} 2Pers	B	Ba	—	BØ
S _{tr} 3Pers	Ø	Øa	Øb	ØØ

In Assiniboine, einer Sprache mit pronominalem Paradigmasystem, sind die Possessivkonstruktionen dann unbezeichnet, wenn der Besitzer durch eine Nominalphrase ausgedrückt wird, wenn der Besitzer pronominal ist, wird dem Besitzwort ein Morphem der 3. Person angefügt. Die Rekonstruktion eines derartigen Systems wird von den uralischen Sprachen dadurch unterstützt, daß nach der Rekonstruktion der historisch-komparativen Schule die Possessivkonstruktionen in bestimmten Fällen unmarkiert waren, in anderen Fällen hingegen mit dem Genitivsuffix bzw. mit dem Possessivsuffix gekennzeichnet waren. Es gibt aber ohne Zweifel Spuren einer unbezeichneten Possessivkonstruktion.

Wie bereits erwähnt, entsprechen die Possessivsuffixe der 1. und 2. Person den verbalen Personalsuffixen, in der 3. Person erschien bei pronominalem Besitzer ein volles Morphem (eine Ableitung des Possessiv-Pronomens 3. Person), bei lexikalischem Besitzer blieb die Konstruktion unbezeichnet. (Ähnlich argumentiert Mészöly, op. cit. 65 ff.)

Possessivkonstruktionen

pronominaler Besitzer	lexikalischer Besitzer
Px1Pers A	—
Px2Pers B	—
Px3Pers C	unbezeichnet

7.2. Das Nullmorphem für Subjekt und Objekt im Verbalparadigma ist soweit funktionell, soweit ein eindeutiges Kasussystem die Nominalphrasen des Satzes kennzeichnet. Wenn jedoch die Kasusmarkierung aus irgendeinem Grund nicht funktioniert, können unduldbare Zweideutigkeiten in der Sprache entstehen: Zeitweise sind dann Subjekt und Objekt nicht voneinander zu unterscheiden. Für diese Fälle wurde angenommen, daß ähnlich wie in Takelma und Sierra Miwok, ein volles Morphem für die dritte Person adaptiert wurde,

welches die unbedingt notwendige Unterscheidung vornimmt. Es gibt auch eine archaische Konstruktion im Ungarischen, wo das Possessivsuffix 3. Person die syntaktischen Funktionen der Nominalphrasen des Satzes kennzeichnet. Es ist also vorstellbar, daß die obige Tabelle mit dem transitiven Verbalparadigma durch Adaptation erweitert wird; diese erweiterter Variante hat für die dritte Person — welche für die betreffenden Unklarheiten am anfälligsten ist — ein bestimmtes Morphem, das Possessivsuffix 3. Person:

ursprüngliches Paradigma	Paradigma mit Adaptation
AØ	AØ
BØ	BØ
ØØ	C

7.3. Die Herausbildung des pronominalen Paradigmas fand in der VSX-Periode statt. Der Zeitpunkt der Adaptation des Possessivsuffixes für die dritte Person lag aber sicher schon in der SOV-Periode, und darüberhinaus ist die Adaptation nicht für alle uralischen Sprachen charakteristisch; die Opposition Nullmorphem — volles Morphem in der dritten Person kann nicht in allen uralischen Sprachen nachgewiesen werden (vgl. Mészöly op. cit. 67; Serebrennikov 1956, 194; Hajdú 1966, 75—76).

Die unmarkierten Possessivkonstruktionen blieben in den uralischen Sprachen teilweise vorhanden. Daneben gibt es aber auch Konstruktionen mit lexikalischem Besitzer mit dem Genitivsuffix *-n bzw. mit Px.

8. Im Folgenden werden die obigen Ausführungen mit den Ansichten der Uralistik verglichen.

8.1. Die Tatsache, daß im Großteil der uralischen Sprachen die Suffixe für Subjekt 1. und 2. Person des transitiven-intransitiven bzw. bestimmten-unbestimmten Paradigmas auf ein und dieselben Formen zurückgehen, wird traditionell dahingehend interpretiert, daß die Trennung der beiden Paradigmen für die 1. und 2. Person in der Grundsprache noch nicht vor sich ging (Mészöly 1931, 67; Serebrennikov 1956, 194; Hajdú 1966, 75—77). Die Ausführungen lassen darüberhinaus schließen, daß angenommen wird, die Entstehung der bestimmten-unbestimmten bzw. transitiven-intransitiven Paradigmen sei Ergebnis einer Spaltung (Divergenz), welche von der dritten Person auf die übrigen Personen übergreifen hätte. Diese Feststellung ist im Rahmen der historisch-komparativen Methode ohne Zweifel logisch und begründet, unter Berücksichtigung auch typologischer Argumente trifft sie aber m. E. nicht zu. Auch typologische Argumente berücksichtigend, können wir mit gutem Grund annehmen, daß der Vorgang genau umgekehrt vor sich gehen konnte: die 1. und 2. Person hatte ein volles Morphem zur Kennzeichnung

von Subjekt und Objekt, die 3. Person hatte hingegen in beiden Fällen Nullmorphem und die Weiterentwicklung (Adaptations-Divergenz) Nullmorphemvolles Nullmorphem konnte in der 3. Person erst später erfolgen. Eine andere Frage ist, daß die objektbezeichnenden Suffixe der 1. und 2. Person in der Mehrzahl der uralischen Sprachen verschwunden sind und es wäre wahrscheinlich unmöglich aufgrund der spärlichen Reste die lautliche Form dieser Suffixe zu rekonstruieren.

8.1.1. Ich möchte an einigen Beispielen zeigen, daß zumindest in den Sprachen mit nominativischer Paradigmastruktur ($P_x = S_n, S_i$) auch allgemein die objektbezeichnenden Suffixe anfälliger für Wandel sind als die subjektbezeichnenden Suffixe. Der Begriff „anfällig für Wandel“ wird im Sinne L. Benkös (1975, 29–30) verwendet. In den aufgezeigten Beispielen zeigt sich die Anfälligkeit für Wandel, indem die objektbezeichnenden Suffixe – was die Wortfolge betrifft – sich nicht eindeutig verhalten (Bella Coola, Ketchua), indem sie in suppletiver Form erscheinen (Ketchua), indem bestimmte Personen des Paradigmas die Objektbezeichnung nicht kennen, d. h. das Paradigma für die Objektbezeichnung kann stellenweise defektiv sein (Ketchua, Takelma) und schließlich, indem die objektbezeichnenden Suffixe oft ihren ursprünglichen Funktionen mehr oder weniger ähnliche Funktionen „übernehmen“ (Bella Coola, Ketchua).⁷

In Bella Coola ist die Reihenfolge der Suffixe bei transitiven Verben mit Objekt in 1. oder 3. Person ObjektVx + SubjektVx, mit Objekt in 2. Person ist die Reihenfolge jedoch umgekehrt: SubjektVx + ObjektVx (Newman 1969, 299). Im Ketchua ist die Wortfolge transitiver Formen im Fall *ich, dich* SubjektVx + ObjektVx, während in allen übrigen Fällen die Reihenfolge ObjektVx + SubjektVx ist (Lastra 1968, 25–26).

Im Cochabamba-Dialekt des Ketchua bezeichnet das Morphem *-ki* das Objekt in 2. Person, das Objekt in anderer Person wird durch *-su* ausgedrückt, es gibt auch Fälle, in denen beide Morpheme gleichzeitig vorkommen: *-suki*. Im Ayacucho-Dialekt dieser Sprache ist die Lage anders: das Morphem *-su* kann in isolierter Form nicht mehr auf die Person des Objekts verweisen (Lastra 1968, 25–26; Parker 1969, 26–29).

Im Ketchua wird das Objekt in 3. Person nicht am Verb ausgedrückt; die Autoren der Grammatik eines erwähnten Dialektes nehmen die 3. Person auch nicht ins Paradigma auf, auch nicht mit Nullmorphem. Im Takelma hingegen kann das Objekt in 1. Person neben Subjekt in 2. Person als Verbal-

⁷ Die drei Sprachen gehören drei verschiedenen Sprach-Großfamilien an (Bella Coola: Salish; Takelma: Penutia; Ketchua: Andean-equatorial), ihre Sprecher leben bzw. lebten weit voneinander entfernt (Bella Coola: British Columbia, Canada; Takelma (ausgestorben): Oregon, USA; Ketchua: Peru, Bolivien).

suffix nicht ausgedrückt werden, obwohl diese Sprache äußerst viele Personal-suffixe kennt (Sapir 1922, 167).

In Bella Coola dienen die objektbezeichnenden Suffixe bei Verben mit passiver Bedeutung zur Bezeichnung des Subjekts, sie übernehmen also eine andere, ähnliche Funktion (Newman 1969, 300). Die ObjektVx im Cocha-bamba-Dialekt des Ketchua sind ebenfalls mit passivischer Bedeutung verbunden: nach dem Autor der Grammatik zeigen sie in einigen Kombinationen an, daß das folgende Vx (der Form nach ein SubjektVx) das Objekt des Verbs bestimmt. Anhand der Übersetzung der Verbalformen wird jedoch klar, daß die Verben so die Bedeutung eines agenslosen Passiv haben, die Suffixe *-wa*, *-su* können so auch als Passivsuffixe betrachtet werden. In Beispiel 1 und 3 kommen die fraglichen Suffixe in ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion vor (als ObjektVx), in Beispiel 2 und 4 kommen sie als Passivsuffixe vor:

qo-wa-nki (Lastra 25)
 geb—mich-du
 '(du) gibst mir'

qo-wa-yku (Lastra 26)
 geb—Pass-wir
 '(wir) werden gegeben'

qo-su-nku
 geb—dich-sie
 '(sie) geben dir'

qo-su-nki
 geb—Pass-du
 '(du) wirst gegeben'

Das Morphem *-su* findet sich übrigens in den singularischen Passivformen, *-wa* hingegen in den pluralischen.⁸ Im anderen untersuchten Ketchua-Dialekt, im Ayacucho-Dialekt übernahmen dieselben Morpheme eine hievon unterschiedliche Funktion: Das Morphem *-wa* dient — außer seiner Rolle als ObjektVx — als Verstärkungspartikel des Imperativs: *upala-* 'ruhen', *upalaway* 'ruhe schon!'; das Morphem *-su* hingegen, welches hier allein die Person des Objekts nicht bezeichnen kann, ist teilweise in den inklusiven Vx1pl-Formen zu finden, teilweise weist es darauf hin, daß die folgenden Vx2, obwohl sie subjektbezeichnende Suffixe sind, auf das Objekt hinweisen: *riku-su-nki* '(er) sieht dich (seh—*su*-du)' (Parker 26—29).

⁸ Ich halte es nicht für ausgeschlossen, daß die „außergewöhnlichen“ Formen des Bella Coola und Ketchua auch zum genaueren Verständnis der Herausbildung der ungarischen *-ik*-Konjugation verwendet werden könnten.

8.2. Wenn unsere Theorie über die Rekonstruktion der uralischen Personalsuffixe annehmbar ist, dann muß nicht nur die Herausbildung der Paradigmen in den großen Linien, sondern auch in einigen Details anders interpretiert werden, bzw. genauer gedeutet werden.

Hajdú (op. cit. 76) hält die Morpheme $Vx3sg$ und letzten Endes das entsprechende Morphem des Possessivparadigmas für Ergebnisse der Agglutinierung akkusativischer Personal- bzw. Demonstrativpronomina (op. cit. 133, 142). Darüberhinaus hält Hajdú für wahrscheinlich, daß das Morphem bei seiner Entstehung zur Unterscheidung zwischen bestimmten-unbestimmten Objekt diene, diese Funktion sei aber in bestimmten Sprachen verschwunden, hier übernahm die 3. Person mit Nullmorphem-vollem Morphem die Markierung der transitiven bzw. intransitiven Verbalformen (op. cit. 74–76; Serebrennikov op. cit. 195).

Die hier dargestellten typologischen Zusammenhänge weisen hingegen darauf hin, daß die 3. Person des Possessivparadigmas ins Verbalparadigma übernommen wurde und zwar nicht durch Agglutination eines selbständigen Pronomens, sondern durch direkte Adaptation eines Suffixes — dieses Suffix wurde natürlich in einem früheren Sprachzustand an das Besitzwort der Possessivkonstruktion agglutiniert. Seine ursprüngliche Funktion konnte sein, gegebenenfalls bei Zweideutigkeiten die grundlegenden Satzteile zu unterscheiden. Diese Funktion blieb in einigen Fällen erhalten, wenn keine anderen Möglichkeiten vorhanden waren, in anderen Fällen wurde jedoch der Gebrauch dieser Suffixe verändert, die Suffixe übernahmen eine ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion verwandte Aufgabe.

Diese Annahme, die mit der historischen Linguistik auf gleicher empirischer Grundlage steht, deren Interpretation aber davon verschieden ist, soll im Folgenden untermauert werden.

Die Agglutinierung selbständiger Pronomina kann in keinem Fall in einer solchen Sprachperiode vor sich gegangen sein, in der die grundlegenden Satzteile, wie das pronominale Subjekt und Objekt, systematisch jeweils eine andere Stelle neben dem Verb einnahmen als die suffigierten Morpheme der dritten Person. Die rekonstruierte Syntax der proto-uralischen Grundsprache zeigt aber die Merkmale einer systematischen SOV-Sprache (Collinder op. cit. 247 ff. Hajdú op. cit. 81–82). Die Agglutinierung muß auf jeden Fall in einer viel früheren Sprachperiode vor sich gegangen sein, und zwar zu einem Zeitpunkt, in welchem die Wortfolge die Suffigierung der Pronomina zuließ.

In Übereinstimmung mit den universalen Gesetzmäßigkeiten stimmt das Possessivparadigma in einem Teil der uralischen Sprachen lautlich zumindest mit einem Verbalparadigma überein. Diachron findet dieser Zustand seine Erklärung darin, daß diese Personalsuffixe auf lautlich gleichförmige Pronomina zurückgehen. Eine genauere und detailliertere Aussage einiger Sprachwissenschaftler besagt, daß die Suffixe des Possessivparadigmas aus Possessiv-

pronomina, die entsprechenden Morpheme des Verbalparadigmas aus subjekt- bzw. objektanzeigenden (d. h. gemischten) Personalpronomina entstanden sind. Demnach ist die Zurückführung auf lautlich gleichförmige Pronomina nur insofern denkbar, als die (später agglutinierten) Possessivsuffixe der 1. und 2. Person mit den subjektbezeichnenden Suffixen der 1. und 2. Person, das Possessivsuffix 3. Person aber mit dem objektbezeichnenden Suffix übereinstimmte. Dies ist aber ein überaus ungewöhnlicher Sprachzustand, auch dann, wenn wir wissen, daß nicht genügend empirisches Material vorhanden ist, die selbständigen (später agglutinierten) Pronomina genauer zu rekonstruieren. Aufgrund der typologischen Daten ist eher anzunehmen, daß die Possessivpronomina entweder mit den nominativischen oder mit den akkusativischen Pronomina Ähnlichkeiten zeigen. Die Ähnlichkeit ist aber auch in jenem Sprachzustand nicht vollständig, in welchem die übereinstimmenden Paradigmen auf Pronomina zurückgehen, da das Verbalparadigma in der 3. Person Nullmorphem hatte, das Possessivparadigma hingegen ein volles Morphem. Der Weg zu einer vollständigen Übereinstimmung zwischen den Paradigmen war die Adaptation des Possessivsuffixes 3. Person (welches hier Zweideutigkeiten ausschaltete) ins Verbalparadigma. Die Annahme, daß die Suffixe des Verbalparadigmas im Ungarischen und Jurakischen aus gemischten Pronomina entstanden wären, müßte daher zumindest besser motiviert werden.

8.3. Die nächste zu erläuternde Frage ist, was die ursprüngliche Funktion des Nullmorphem — volles Morphem-Paradigma paares der 3. Person sein konnte. Hajdú hält die Bezeichnung für das bestimmte-unbestimmte Objekt für ursprünglich — aus der in der Uralistik bekannten Tatsache ausgehend — daß dieses binäre Paradigma in einigen weit verwandten Sprachen genau diese Rolle hat. Mit genau derselben Argumentation behaupten wir aber, daß wir solch eine Funktion für ursprünglich halten müssen, welche in diesem gegebenen Strukturtyp in gegenseitig nicht verwandten Sprachen erscheint und — wenn auch nur in Resten — auch in den uralischen Sprachen aufscheint. Es muß aber hinzugefügt werden: Aufgrund sprachtheoretischer Überlegungen stehen die von uns angenommene Funktion (Unterscheidung grundlegender Satzteile) und die von Hajdú erschlossene ursprüngliche Funktion (Unterscheidung zwischen bestimmten-unbestimmten Objekt) einander äußerst nahe, vor allem im Fall solcher Sprachen, in welchen kaum oder nicht systematisch Subjekt und/oder Objekt mit Kasusuffixen markiert werden. Und gerade die uralische Grundsprache konnte eine solche Sprache sein: Die historisch-komparative Schule behauptet einigermaßen einstimmig, daß der rekonstruierte Akkusativ auf *-m mit Fällen wechselte, in welchen das Objekt des Satzes unbezeichnet war, also wie das Subjekt im Nominativ stand (Wickman 1955, 147; Fokos 1963, 6–13). Im System der sprach-

geschichtlichen Annahmen stört, daß die Opposition Akkusativ-Objekt—unmarkiertes Objekt genauso zur Unterscheidung des bestimmten-unbestimmten Objekts rekonstruiert wird wie die Opposition Nullmorphem-volles Morphem der 3. Person des Verbalparadigmas. Es ist nämlich unwahrscheinlich, daß eine Sprache zu einem Zeitpunkt eine neue, kompliziertere Markierung (am Verb) zur Bezeichnung des bestimmten Objekts entwickelt, wenn schon eine naheliegende, einfachere Markierung (Kasussuffix am Nomen gegenüber \emptyset -Kasussuffix) existiert. Als Gegenargument könnte hier gelten, daß die Markierung des bestimmten Objekts sich dialektal entwickelte: in bestimmten Dialekten Markierung durch das Kasussuffix, in anderen Dialekten Markierung durch Verbalsuffix. Diese Möglichkeit ist aber auch unwahrscheinlich, denn in diesem Fall sollte sich — zumindest in groben Zügen — zeigen, daß in den Sprachen mit Akkusativ auf *-m* die bestimmte Deklination nicht vorhanden war bzw. verschwand. Dagegen wissen wir aber, daß das Akkusativsuffix *-m* bzw. seine Spuren mit Ausnahme des Ungarischen und Ostjakischen in allen uralischen Sprachen nachweisbar ist, und gerade im Ungarischen und Ostjakischen finden wir als Paradigma-paar die unbestimmte-bestimmte Konjugation, sie ist aber auch in weiteren vier Sprachen vorhanden.

8.4. Aus den obigen Ausführungen geht hervor, daß die Herausbildung und Funktion des binären Verbalparadigmas Nullmorphem-volles Morphem parallel mit der Entstehung (dem Verschwinden) und Funktion des Akkusativsuffixes neu untersucht werden muß. Dazu könnten folgende sprachtheoretische und typologische Überlagerungen von Nutzen sein.

8.4.1. Wenn in einer Sprache die morphologische Markierung des Objekts nicht obligatorisch ist, dann gibt es unseren Kenntnissen nach für die Markierung zwei — miteinander zusammenhängende — Regelsysteme:

A) Das Objekt wird dann morphologisch markiert, wenn die Wortfolge über die syntaktische Funktion der Satzteile keine Auskunft gibt (Vennemann 1974, 365) — in solchen Fällen werden die Satzteile im Diegueño morphologisch markiert (eine genaue Beschreibung des Regelsystems vgl. Langdon 1970, 150—176);

B) Der Akkusativ bezeichnet das bestimmte Objekt, wie im Persischen oder Tatarischen (vgl. Rastrogueva 1964, 24; Poppe 1968, 119; anhand zahlreicher Sprachen illustriert vgl. Moravcsik 1978).

Diese zwei Regeltypen beruhen sicherlich auf zusammenhängenden Grundsätzen. In den Sprachen (mit Ausnahme der VOS-Sprachen) steht das Subjekt in der Wortfolge vor dem Objekt, das Objekt ist unbestimmt (Comrie 1976), und gehört zum Rhema-Teil des Satzes. Wenn das Objekt jedoch bestimmt ist und (damit zusammenhängend) das Thema (Topic) des Satzes bildet, dann ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß dies auch positionell markiert

wird: das Objekt geht dem Subjekt voraus. Die Bestimmtheit des Objekts hängt also mit der von der Norm abweichenden OS-Wortfolge zusammen.

8.4.2. Das Regelsystem für den Gebrauch der Verbalopposition Nullmorphem-volles Morphem in der 3. Person könnte sich unseren Erfahrungen nach in großen Zügen folgendermaßen herausgebildet haben:

a) Das Nullmorphem muß dann verwendet werden, wenn Subjekt und Objekt im Satz „normal“ gekennzeichnet sind, volles Morphem hingegen in solchen Fällen, in welchen die Bezeichnung für Subjekt und Objekt vom Normalfall abweicht. Die distinktive, die Satztypen bezeichnende Funktion des vollen Morphems kann sich auf verschiedene Weise manifestieren, je nach welchen Gesichtspunkten die Konstruktion „normal“ ist. Z. B. ist normalerweise das Subjekt [+ menschlich], oder die nähergestellte Person, oder die erste NP in der Reihenfolge usw.

b) Nullmorphem am Verb dann, wenn das Objekt unbestimmt ist, volles Morphem, wenn das Objekt bestimmt ist.

c) Nullmorphem bei intransitiven Verben, volles Morphem bei transitiven Verben.

Es ist klar, daß die Regeltypen a) und b) zusammenhängen und zwar nach ähnlichen Grundsätzen wie die obigen Regeltypen A) und B). Typ c) entwickelte sich wahrscheinlich sekundär aus a) oder b): Der Gebrauch des nicht Nullmorphems verbreitete sich auch auf Sätze, in denen Subjekt und Objekt mit anderen Mitteln deutlich zu unterscheiden sind, bzw. auf Sätze, in welchen das Objekt unbestimmt ist und sogar auf Sätze, in welchen ein transitives Verb ohne Objekt steht. Die Siuslaw-Sprache illustriert die nächste mögliche Stufe dieser Erweiterung: hier funktioniert das Suffix der 3. Person als Transitivitysuffix; es leitet aus intransitiven Stämmen transitive Verben, aus transitiven Stämmen kausative Verben ab (Frachtenberg 1922, 481—482). In der Navaho-Sprache gibt es eine ähnliche Erscheinung (Sapir-Hoijer 1967, 86).

8.5. Es würde den Rahmen dieser Untersuchung überschreiten, die Geschichte der hier behandelten grammatischen Formen anhand der historisch-komparativen oder typologischen Methoden und Theorien zu verfolgen. Mit der genauen Rekonstruktion der Geschichte der Kasusuffixe und verbalen Personalsuffixe könnte man gewiss um einige Schritte weiterkommen, wenn wir systematisch die Theorie beachten, daß zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Entstehung diese Suffixe nicht die gleiche Funktion haben konnten und daß diese beiden grammatischen Elemente eine derartige Funktion innehatten, welche das Akkusativsuffix bzw. das Vx 3. Person in den Sprachen heute noch hat.

9. Außer der Behandlung der hier interessanten Erscheinungen wollte ich auch zeigen, wie die Sprachtypologie der historisch-komparativen Lin-

guistik bei der Erreichung ihrer Ziele von Nutzen sein könnte. Die sprachtypologischen Untersuchungen alleine sind nicht in der Lage, Sprachverwandtschaft festzustellen und wahrscheinlich läßt sich mit der typologischen Methode alleine auch nicht die Grundsprache rekonstruieren. Die Typologie kann auch nur die typischen Fälle des Sprachwandels skizzieren. Mit Hilfe der Typologie kann man zusammen mit der historisch-komparativen Methode die Zusammenhänge innerhalb der Sprachverwandtschaft ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit nach prüfen, um dann genauer die Struktur der rekonstruierten Grundsprache skizzieren zu können und unter anderem zu entscheiden, welche der von der historisch-komparativen Schulen aufgestellten Hypothesen am wahrscheinlichsten sind. Die Typologie wählt mit den typologischen Korrelationen jene Sprachwandel-Erscheinungen aus, welche in ihren gegenseitigen Zusammenhängen untersucht werden müssen. Es ist schließlich nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die typologische Methode in einigen Fällen die Geschichte solcher Erscheinungen aufzeigt, welche durch die historisch-komparative Methode nicht zu entdecken wären.

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THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION IN HUNGARIAN:
A CONFIGURATIONAL CATEGORY IN A
NON-CONFIGURATIONAL LANGUAGE*

By
ANNA SZABOLCSI

0. Introduction

É. Kiss (1981a) argues that Hungarian is a non-configurational language in the following sense:

- (1) (a) $S'' \rightarrow X^{n*} S'$
(b) $S' \rightarrow X^n S^o$
(c) $S^o \rightarrow V X^{n*}$

The propositional part S^o is structurally "flat": the finite verb V is followed by an unordered set of constituents (maximal major categories X^n). One X^n can be moved from S^o into the peripheral position dominated by S' , and any number of X^n s can be moved from S^o into the peripheral positions dominated by S'' . [X^n, S'] functions as the Focus and [X^n, S''] as a Topic of the sentence. For details of interpretation, see Hunyadi (1981), É. Kiss (1981c), and Szabolcsi (1981a, b, c).

Notice that É. Kiss's proposal as it stands remains neutral with respect to the following questions:

- (2) (a) To what extent are those X^n s configurational?
(b) Are all those X^n s really base-generated sisters in S^o ?

In this paper I will investigate one of those categories, the NP, or, more closely, the possessive construction. It appears that the NP in Hungarian is a configurational category (with certain provisions not to be discussed here, cf. Szabolcsi 1981b), and that the answer to (2b) is "no". In other words, this NP raises interesting questions concerning the interaction of configurational and non-configurational aspects in a language.

The paper will be organized as follows. In the first section it will be argued that NP in Hungarian has an Inflection node with [\pm pos-

* I am indebted to F. Ackerman, M. Bródy, G. Dalmi, H. Haider, R. Hetzron, I. Kenesei, K. É. Kiss, H. van Riemsdijk, and others for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

sessive] and agreement features on the one hand, and a peripheral position which makes it possible to detach the possessor from the possessed on the other. The consequences of these claims will be examined in connection with *wh* possessors, "possessed-deletion", multiple possessive constructions, articles, and possession sentences. Although the argumentation will be formulated within the framework of Chomsky (1981), it is hoped that the careful presentation of the data will make the material both accessible and useful to proponents of other schools and typologists as well. In the second section I will point to a number of unsolved or semisolved problems, e.g. in connection with the behaviour of anaphors and the configurational versus non-configurational distinction, calling for further research.

Several of the questions to be discussed below have a vast literature in Hungarian. Given that my views will often be different from the (concordant or conflicting) views held by those authors and that their works are unfortunately inaccessible to the majority of the readers of this paper, for space reasons I will mostly refrain from explicitly discussing their alternatives. I must mention, however, at least Balogh (1891) and Simonyi (1914) as my most inspiring sources. A summary of the literature and a discussion of certain points not to be touched upon here can be found in Gaál (1978).

1. Claims

1.1. INFLECTION in the NP

In generative literature it is common to posit a structural analogy between the noun phrase and the sentence. According to this the possessor corresponds to the subject and the possessed to the verb phrase (\bar{V}). In English, however, the NP—S analogy has deficient aspects too. Note that S is expanded as follows:

$$(3) \quad S \rightarrow NP \text{ INFL } \bar{V} \quad \text{where INFL} = [[\pm \text{tense}], (\text{AGR})]$$

An INFL specified as [+ tense] and, consequently, also for agreement, plays a twofold role. On the one hand, it governs the subject NP and assigns it nominative Case (an NP which has no abstract Case cannot have phonetic matrix, cf. the subjects of infinitives); on the other hand, the tense and agreement features themselves "percolate down" to, and get morphologically realized on the head of \bar{V} . Now, there is nothing exactly like INFL in the NP. To account for the genitive Case in, say, *Peter's arm*, which is assumed to have the labelled bracketing in (4),

$$(4) \quad [NP[NP \text{ Peter}] [\bar{N} \text{ arm}]]$$

an abstract element GEN is supposed to be adjoined to the possessor NP and to act both as governor and Case-assigner (Chomsky (1981, 188)).

Let us now see what the possessive construction looks like in Hungarian. The plural possessed forms will be used merely for the sake of morphonological transparency. The segmentation follows Mel'čuk (1973), where it is motivated in detail:¹

- (5) (a) az én-Ø kar-ja-i-m 'my arms'
 the I-nom arm-poss-pl-1sg
 (b) a te-Ø kar-ja-i-d 'thy arms'
 the you-nom arm-poss-pl-2sg
 (c) (a) Péter-Ø kar-ja-i-Ø 'Peter's arms'
 the Peter-nom arm-poss-pl-3sg

Apart from the article *a(z)*, to which I will return step by step, (5) parallels the morphology of Hungarian sentences. The possessor is in the nominative, the place of the tense/mood morpheme is taken by the poss(essive) morpheme, and agreement with the possessor is triggered. This cluster of facts makes it reasonable to assume that INFL of S does have a counterpart in the NP in Hungarian, and that [\pm possessive] plays exactly the role of [\pm tense] (i.e. a [$+$ poss] NP is like a tensed S and a [$-$ poss] NP is like an infinitival clause). In this respect, therefore, the NP is more S-like in Hungarian than it is in English. There is also a major difference between NP and S in Hungarian, however. Whereas the sentential subject has no fixed front position, as is clear from (1c), the subject of NP, the possessor does: the phrases in (5) are only grammatical with the indicated internal order. In other words, the Hungarian NP is a configurational category: what it is really structurally analogous to is S in languages like English. So the following base rule suggests itself — compare with (3):²

- (6) NP \rightarrow NP INFL \bar{N} where INFL = [\pm poss], (AGR)]

The recognition of cross-categorical structural analogies constitutes an important step towards a theory of grammar which consists of a relatively small number of very general abstract principles, rather than a huge number of construction-specific ones. And, conversely, given (an approximation of)

¹ I will liberally use Øs in the examples in order to make the glosses easier to decipher.

Hungarian is a so-called PRO-drop language: personal pronouns need not be overt.

² Following Chomsky, I will use the label \bar{N} . I will not investigate the internal structure of this node in this paper, so the question whether one bar is sufficient is not pertinent to the discussion.

- (9) (a) én-nek-e-m a kar-ja-i-m | 'my arms'
 I-dat-poss-1sg the arm-poss-pl-1sg
 (b) te-nek-e-d a kar-ja-i-d 'thy arms'
 you-dat-poss-2sg the arm-poss-pl-2sg
 (c) Péter-nek a kar-ja-i-Ø 'Peter's arms'
 Peter-dat the arm-poss-pl-3sg

Now, whereas the nominative possessor is immobile, the dative possessor may be detached from the possessed. In general, *Péternek* and *a karjai* may behave as any two independent Xⁿs at the S-level. Here are some examples, at this point, without traces yet. (The predicate *hosszú-ak* 'long-pl' acts as V when there is no overt copula. I chose this example because it is somewhat easier to translate into English. Note that these sentences are not like *As for Paris, the Eiffel tower is beautiful*.)

- (10) (a) [s'' [s' [so hosszú-ak a kar-ja-i-Ø-Ø Péter-nek]]]
 long-pl the arm-poss-pl-3sg-nom Peter-dat
 'Peter's arms are long.'
- (b) [s'' [s' Péter-nek [so hosszú-ak a kar-ja-i-Ø-Ø]]]
 Peter-dat long-pl the arm-poss-pl-3sg-nom
 'It is Peter whose arms are long.'
- (c) [s'' a kar-ja-i-Ø-Ø [s' [so hosszú-ak Péter-nek]]]
 the arm-poss-pl-3sg-nom long-pl Peter-dat
 'As for his arms, Peter has long ones.'
- (d) [s'' Péter-nek [s' a kar-ja-i-Ø-Ø [so hosszú-ak]]]
 Peter-dat the arm-poss-pl-3sg-nom long-pl
 'As for Peter, it is his arms which are long.'
- etc.

The first point to be established is whether *Péternek* and *a karjai* are not in fact two independent arguments of the predicate. Note that S'' and S^o may dominate any number of Xⁿ constituents in any order, and thus the occurrence of a string like (9c) *Péternek a karjai* in those positions may be a result of accidental juxtaposition. Nevertheless, S' viz. Focus is a diagnostic position for constituenthood since it only takes a single Xⁿ. Therefore (11a) with (9c) in its Focus proves that (9c) may be a single maximal major category in S-structure (and (11b) proves that (9c) represents the only internal order indeed):

- (11) (a) [S'' [S' Péternek a karjai [so hosszúak]]]
'It is Peter's arms which are long.'
(b) *[S'' [S' a karjai Péternek [so hosszúak]]]

It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the sentences in (10) and their brothers originate from (12), *Péternek* being moved out of the category α :

- (12) [S' [S [so hosszúak [α Péternek a karjai]]]]

As a matter of fact, the stipulation of a source like (12) could hardly be avoided even if, for some reason, (11a) were ungrammatical. The alternative assumption (quite surprisingly, often made in traditional linguistic literature) is that in addition to its lexically defined complements, just every predicate may suddenly acquire an extra complement in the dative — if and only if, I must add, one of its regular complements is in the possessed form and agrees with the extra NP in person and number. (And, of course, the extra dative NP has no other semantic role than “possessor”).⁴

The second point to be established concerns the category α and the structural position of the dative possessor within α . The simplest assumption might be that the Case assigned by the [+ poss] INFL may alternatively be realized with the nominative \emptyset or with the dative *-nak/-nek* suffix for the very same NP position. In that case nothing but perceptual factors might be responsible for the immobility of *Péter- \emptyset* as opposed to the mobility of *Péter-nak*. Such an explanation would be too weak, however (*Péter-nak* is as easy to confuse with the indirect object of the verb as *Péter- \emptyset* would be easy to confuse with the subject). Note also that in case the mobility of the possessor were dependent solely on such perceptual factors, *dem Mann* in (13b) might be expected to be movable too, which it is not (for a discussion of the relation between (13a, b), see Riemsdijk 1980):

- (13) (a) des Mannes Vater

- (b) dem Mann sein Vater

⁴ Notice that I use the term “dative” merely to identify a suffix and by no means to identify a grammatical/semantic role. Naturally, if the predicate itself may have an experiencer complement (as *tetszik* may have one, cf. (i)), then — due to the effect of PRO-drop — the surface structure may be ambiguous with respect to the role of *NP-dat*. Such is the sentence *Ki-nak tetszik az ének-e- \emptyset - \emptyset ?* (iia) has the same structure as (i), and δ - \emptyset may be spelled out or dropped at will. In (iib), however, δ - \emptyset may not appear and *ki-nak* is interpreted as ‘whose’. Note though that with the majority of predicates only (iib) is possible since they do not have an experiencer complement registered in the lexicon.

- (i) Ki-nak tetsz-ik az ének- \emptyset ?
 who-dat please-3sg the song-nom
 ‘Who does the song please?’ cf. *Wem gefällt das Lied?*
- (ii) (a) Ki-nak tetsz-ik az (δ - \emptyset) ének-e- \emptyset - \emptyset ?
 who-dat please-3sg the he-nom song-poss-3sg-nom
 ‘Who does his song please?’
- (b) Ki-nak tetsz-ik az (* δ - \emptyset) ének-e- \emptyset - \emptyset ?
 who-dat please-3sg the he-nom song-poss-3sg-nom
 ‘Whose song is pleasing?’

The conjecture that \emptyset and *-nak/-nek* correspond to two distinct structural positions within α is supported by the position of the possessor relative to the article $a(z)$. I will discuss its role in more detail in 1.5. Here it suffices to recognize that in view of forms like (5a), $a(z)$ must belong to the [+ poss] NP and by no means to the possessor within it:

- (5) (a) az én- \emptyset kar-ja-i-m 'my arms'
the I-nom arm-poss-pl-1sg

Notice that the \emptyset -possessor invariably follows and the *-nak/-nek*-possessor invariably precedes $a(z)$:

- (9) (a) én-nek-e-m a kar-ja-i-m 'my arms'
I-dat-poss-1sg the arm-poss-pl-1sg

All these differences in the behaviour of the two possessors can be coherently explained on the assumption that what the *-nak/-nek* suffix marks is a peripheral position of the NP — a peripheral position which is in many respects like COMP, in particular, in that it serves as an escape hatch. To stress the inevitable differences though, I will refer to it as KOMP (*komp* actually means 'ferry' in Hungarian). Thus the category α turns out to be $\overline{\text{NP}}$ and the above discussed examples are assigned the following structures:

- (14) (a) ... [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [KOMP e] [NP a Péter- \emptyset karjai]] ... cf. (5)
(b) ... [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [KOMP Péter-nek_i] [NP a t_i karjai]] ... cf. (9), (12)
(c) ... Péter-nek_i ... [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [KOMP t_i] [NP a t_i karjai]] ... cf. (10)

In theoretical terms, coindexation with *Péternek* or its trace in KOMP provides proper government for the trace in subject position, analogously to coindexation with *who* or its trace in COMP in (7a, b). (For proper government, see Chomsky (1981, 231–285).) Examples like (8a, b) are ungrammatical because the fact that the detached possessor is not marked with *-nak/-nek* indicates that movement skipped the crucial position KOMP and thus the trace left in subject position is not properly governed.

In the following sections I will explore the consequences of the assumption that unlike NP in English, NP in Hungarian has a peripheral position.

1.3. *wh*-subjects and empty $\overline{\text{N}}/\overline{\text{V}}$

The most perspicuous difference between the peripheral positions COMP and KOMP is that the former only attracts *wh* words. Nevertheless, while non-*wh* possessors move to KOMP optionally, as has been demonstrated

above, *wh* possessors move to KOMP obligatorily. In present-day Hungarian, *ki* 'who, interrogative' and *aki* 'who, relative' must be in the dative:

- (15) (a) * (a) $ki-\emptyset$ $kar-ja-\emptyset$ 'whose arm'
 the who-nom arm-poss-3sg
- (b) $ki-nek$ a $kar-ja-\emptyset$
 who-dat the arm-poss-3sg

In this respect KOMP is exactly like the peripheral positions of the Hungarian sentence. For instance, question-words are Focussed obligatorily and non-*wh* categories are Focussed optionally (É. Kiss 1981a).

In the case of (15b) there are two choices at the S-level. Either (15b) as a whole goes to Focus, as in (16a), or *kinek* is Focussed on its own, as in (16b, c):

- (16) (a) $[S'' [S' [kinek_i a t_i karja]_j [so\ hosszú\ t_j]]]$
 'Whose arm is long?'
- (b) $[S'' [S' kinek_i [so\ hosszú\ t_i [t_i a t_i karja]]]]$
 'Who is it whose arm is long?'
- (c) $[S'' [t_i a t_i karja]_j [S' kinek_i [so\ hosszú\ t_i t_j]]]$
 'As for his/her arm, who is it whose one is long?'

I believe that the fact that the *wh* possessor must move to KOMP is clearly diagnostic for KOMP being a peripheral i.e. non-thematic position. I will discuss the details of the structures in (16) later. Let me now examine an interesting case of interaction between movement to KOMP and empty \bar{N} .

The minimal answer to (16b, c) is (17a), while the minimal answer to (16a) is (17b):

- (17) (a) $Béter-nek$, 'It is Peter('s)'
- (b) (A) $Péter-é$. 'It is Peter's one'

Suppose the internal structure of the NP of (17b) is (18), i.e. that it is analogous to a sentence whose VP is empty:

- (18) $[\bar{NP} [NP (a) Péter-\emptyset [\bar{N} \Delta-é-\emptyset]]]$ 'Peter's one'
 the Peter-nom -poss-3sg

Notice that here the possessor must not be in the dative:

- (19) * $[\bar{NP} Péter-nek_i [NP (a) t_i [\bar{N} \Delta-é-\emptyset]]]$

Remember that I have just argued that the *wh* possessor must be in the dative, and quite necessarily so, if the position of the nominative possessor is an argument position and that of the dative possessor is a peripheral position. One might then well expect that *wh* possessors and empty possessed do not co-occur. They do, however, and the *wh* possessor obeys the “no dative” prohibition:

- (20) [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [NP ki- \emptyset - [$\bar{\text{N}}$ Δ -é- \emptyset]]] ‘whose one’
who-nom -poss-3sg

This apparently controversial situation may be interpreted in at least two ways. One is to entirely discard the structuring assumed in (18) and (20) — e.g. to deny that in these cases *Péter* and *ki* function like subjects, that there is in fact an empty possessed, and that the invariable suffix *é* is the same thing as *ja* in the examples above. Instead, the whole phenomenon might be relegated to the realm of morphology by claiming that *é* is a formative which turns any *NP* into *belonging of NP*. On this account even the possibility that (19) might exist does not arise. It appears, however, that the assumption of structures like (18) and (20) is at least instructive in understanding the presence of agreement morphemes and the recursivity of *é* addition (cf. 1.4.):

- (21) (a) [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [NP az eny- \emptyset - [$\overline{\text{N}}$ Δ - \acute{e} -(i)-m]]] 'my one(s)'
 the I-nom- -poss-pl-1sg
 (b) [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [NP a ti- \emptyset - [$\overline{\text{N}}$ Δ - \acute{e} -(i)-d]]] 'thy one(s)'
 the you-nom- -poss-pl-2sg
 (c) az eny- \acute{e} -(i)-m- \acute{e} -(i)- \acute{e} -(i) . . . 'the one(s) of the one(s) of my one(s)'

Therefore I am at present more inclined to maintain the assumption of such structures and merely explain the “no dative” prohibition as a prohibition against the movement of the possessor from its original position into the peripheral position KOMP. In the simplest case this may indeed follow from agglutination i.e. from the fact that in want of something like an auxiliary, *é-(i)-agr* is in fact suffixed onto the possessor. On the other hand, it may also turn out that this prohibition has more to do with the emptiness of the possessed than with agglutination. Although this problem requires far more further research, let me briefly indicate why this possibility may arise.

Let us consider the parallel case with VP-deletion in English. Given that English has auxiliaries, agglutination phenomena do not obscure the picture.

As far as I know, no one has suggested that the structure of (23a) should be any different from that of (22a):

(22) (a) Who left?

(b) [\bar{S} who_i [S t_i left]]

(23) (a) Who did?

(b) [\bar{S} who_i [S t_i did]]

How can we test whether (23b) is really the structure for (23a)? On the assumption that *who* is in COMP we can make the following predictions: (i) given the appropriate bridge context, *who* may move from the embedded COMP to the matrix COMP, and (ii) *who* may prevent another *wh* word of the same clause from moving to COMP, so the latter remains in its base-generated position.

Now see what happens with prediction (i):

(24) (a) [\bar{S} who_i [S do you believe [\bar{S} t_i [S t_i left]]]]

(b) ??[\bar{S} who_i [S do you believe [\bar{S} t_i [S t_i did]]]]

So COMP-to-COMP movement does not work too well for the *who* subject of *did*. What happens with prediction (ii)? Let the context be something like (25a) for (25b, c, d):

(25) (a) I seem to remember someone stripped in some film.

(b) John did in his first film.

(c) Who stripped in which film?

(d) *Who did in which film?

Be careful to avoid comma-intonation. *in which film* here is not part of the VP, so VP-deletion does not affect it, as is also indicated by (25b). Nevertheless, while (25c) with the VP *stripped* is OK, (25d) with the VP *did* is ungrammatical, I suppose the reason is that the conditions for *in which film* to remain in its original position are not satisfied, presumably because *who* itself is not in COMP. I will not go into details with why (25d) has no grammatical version at all. Let me just note that both of the conceivable empirical tests for deciding whether the *who* of *Who did?* is in COMP gave negative results. Now, given that surface structure does not unambiguously indicate whether the *wh* subject is in COMP in English, one might wish to maintain that (23b) is the correct structure for *Who did?*. On this interpretation, tests (i) and (ii) fail for some independent reasons.

Let us return to the case in Hungarian, however. Suppose that my assumption that the dative possessor is in a peripheral position was correct,

and also that the impossibility of the dative in (19) really indicates that movement to KOMP is not permitted. Taking these together with the English facts I am very much inclined to conclude that — whatever the deeper reasons may be — it is just generally impossible to move the subject to the peripheral position if VP i.e. \bar{V} or \bar{N} is empty. This would mean that (23b) is not the correct structure, on the one hand, and that the ungrammaticality of (19) has nothing to do with agglutination but is due to general structural reasons.

Let me now summarize what we have so far. In addition to the base rule (6), which parallels the rule for expanding S in English, I will assume the existence of a base rule like (26):

(26) $\bar{NP} \rightarrow \text{KOMP NP}$

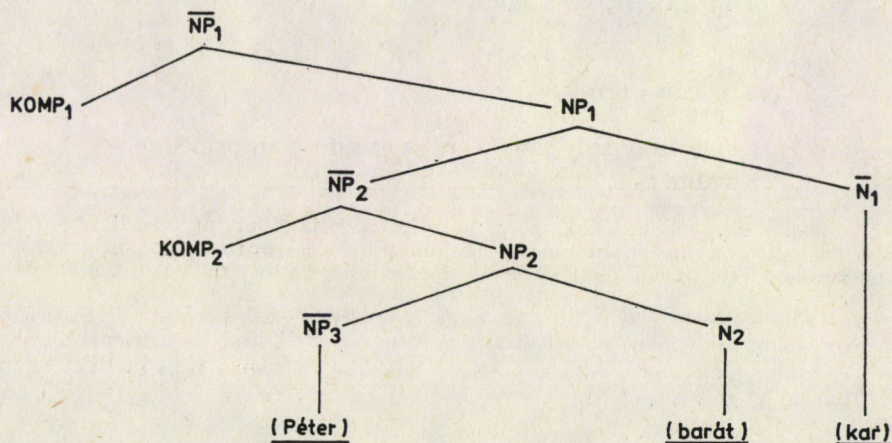
(6') $\text{NP} \rightarrow \bar{NP} \text{ INFL } \bar{N}$ where $\text{INFL} = [[\pm \text{poss}], (\text{AGR})]$

Rule (6') differs from (6) in that it has \bar{NP} , rather than NP in subject position. Given the results of sections 1.2 and 1.3, this follows immediately from the principles of \bar{X} theory, because now \bar{NP} , and not NP, is the maximal major category (it will also be empirically motivated in connection with multiple possessives). Note also that "move-NP" reads as "move- \bar{NP} " for Hungarian (just as we have "move- \bar{S} ", rather than "move-S" in English), Case is assigned to \bar{N} s, and \bar{NP} blocks government.

1.4. Multiple possessives

I assume that a doubly possessive construction has the following simplified D-structure:

(27)



The direct output of this structure is (28):

- (28) ?(a) Péter- \emptyset barát-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset kar-ja- \emptyset
 the Peter-nom friend-poss-3sg-nom arm-poss-3sg
 'Peter's friend's arm'

By moving $\overline{\text{NP}}_3$ (*Péter*) to KOMP_2 we get (29):

- (29) *Péter-nek_i a t_i barát-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset kar-ja- \emptyset
 Peter-dat the friend-poss-3sg-nom arm-poss-3sg

By moving this $\overline{\text{NP}}_2$ (*Péternek a barátja*) to KOMP_1 we get (30):

- (30) ?[Péter-nek_i a t_i barát-já- \emptyset -nak]_j a t_j kar-ja- \emptyset
 Peter-dat the friend-poss-3sg-dat the arm-poss-3sg

Or, by moving the original $\overline{\text{NP}}_2$ to KOMP_1 we get (31):

- (31) [Péter- \emptyset barát-já- \emptyset -nak]_i a t_i kar-ja- \emptyset
 Peter-nom friend-poss-3sg-dat the arm-poss-3sg

The ? in (28) and (30) indicates that the phrase is not ungrammatical, just very clumsy. (28), for instance, while it would hardly be used on its own, normally occurs in triply possessive constructions, where clumsiness cannot be avoided anyway, e.g.:

- (32) [Péter- \emptyset barát-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset kar-já- \emptyset -nak]_i a t_i hossz-a- \emptyset
 'the length of the arm of Peter's friend'

(30) is also marked very clumsy (although it sounds better than (28)); nevertheless, here we also have direct evidence for grammaticality. As has been noted, the *wh* possessor must be in the dative; hence with *ki* 'who' in $\overline{\text{NP}}_3$ the analogue of (30) is the only choice, and it is perfectly grammatical, too:

- (33) [ki-nek_i a t_i barát-já- \emptyset -nak]_j a t_j kar-ja- \emptyset
 'whose friend's arm'

It appears therefore that only (29) is to be excluded in principle.⁵

⁵ Incidentally, the marking pattern is exactly like that of coordination. It is possible (though clumsy) not to have any conjunction/dative, or to have a conjunction/dative everywhere, but no conjunction/dative may be followed by a mere blank/nominative:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| (iii) ?John, Mary, Bill | cf. ? $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -nom $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -nom $\overline{\text{N}}$ in (28) |
| (iv) ?John, and Mary, and Bill | ? $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -dat $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -dat $\overline{\text{N}}$ in (30) |
| (v) *John, and Mary, Bill | * $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -dat $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -nom $\overline{\text{N}}$ in (29) |
| (vi) John, Mary, and Bill | $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -nom $\overline{\text{NP}}$ -dat $\overline{\text{N}}$ in (31) |

The pattern carries over to longer sequences as well.

Notice that (29) is the case in which \overline{NP}_3 is moved to $KOMP_2$ but the \overline{NP}_2 so obtained is not moved to $KOMP_1$. I believe its ungrammaticality is explained as follows. $KOMP$ is a peripheral position, movement into which assigns some "inferior" operator feature to \overline{NP} even if it is not a lexically defined operator like *who*. The \overline{NP} whose $KOMP$ is filled in this way inherits this feature, therefore it must be moved to $KOMP$ as well (if it is embedded in an NP , of course). I call this operator feature "inferior" because it is no longer operative outside the \overline{NP} -cycle: we have seen that both the whole \overline{NP} the $KOMP$ of which is filled and the dative \overline{NP} which has been moved out of the \overline{NP} may remain in S^0 (if *ki* 'who' is not present). In (29) the second move which is required is not made, so (29) is ungrammatical.

In accordance with what was found in the preceding section, the analogues of (29) are also perfectly grammatical if \bar{N}_1 is empty. That is, in addition to (34a) we also have (34b), and (35) is the only choice:

- (34) (a) Péter- \emptyset barát-já- \emptyset - \emptyset - Δ -é- \emptyset
 Peter-nom friend-poss-3sg-nom- -poss-3sg
 'Peter's friend's one'
- (b) Péter-nek_i a t_i barát-já- \emptyset - \emptyset - Δ -é- \emptyset
- (35) ki-nek_i a t_i barát-já- \emptyset - \emptyset - Δ -é- \emptyset
 'whose friend's one'

Here again, empty \bar{N} creates a constellation otherwise not permitted.

The structure (27) predicts that a possessor may escape from \overline{NP}_1 if and only if it has reached $KOMP_1$ first, and on the reasonable assumption that there is no $KOMP_2$ -to- $KOMP_1$ movement, \overline{NP}_3 in itself will never be able to do that. The prediction that \overline{NP}_3 is not mobilizable on its own is undoubtedly borne out if \overline{NP}_2 is in the nominative, e.g.:

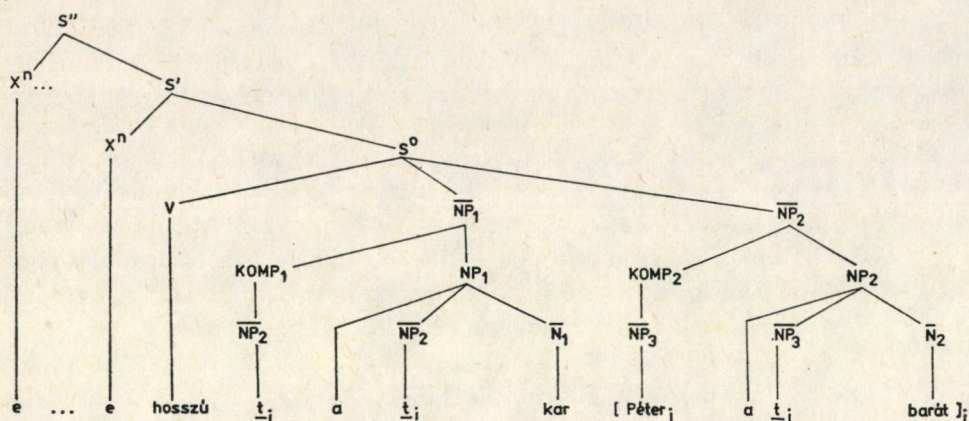
- (36) (a) *Péter-nek hosszú a barát-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset kar-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset .
 (b) *ki-nek hosszú a barát-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset kar-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset ?
 (c) *ki-nek hosszú a barát-já- \emptyset - \emptyset - Δ -é- \emptyset - \emptyset ?

The situation is much less clear if both \overline{NP}_3 and \overline{NP}_2 are in the dative. To understand the problem we have to review the assumptions made about the generation of such examples.

The data surveyed so far and the way I embellished the examples in (16) with traces will have made it clear that I assume (37) has the structure depicted in (38):

- (37) Hosszú a kar-ja- \emptyset - \emptyset Péter-nek a barát-já- \emptyset -nak
 long the arm-poss-3sg-nom Peter-dat the friend-poss-3sg-dat
 'Peter's friend's arm is long'

(38)



Given this structure, the rules of Focussing and Topicalization may apply to either of the sister \overline{NP} s in S^0 i.e. to \overline{NP}_1 (*a karja*) and/or to \overline{NP}_2 (*Péternek a barátjának*), leaving the appropriate traces.

Of the steps in the derivation of (38), the move from $KOMP_1$ to the surface position of *Péternek a barátjának* is the most obscure one. This is the step which connects the configurational category \overline{NP} and the non-configurational category S^0 . On the one hand, we have to assume that, in addition to argument positions (like that of \overline{NP}_1), S^0 also contains non-argument positions into which "inferior" operators may move from $KOMP$. This assumption, strange as it may sound, is empirically motivated, however. Nevertheless, the nature of the rule carrying out the movement in question remains rather unclear. In particular, it is unclear whether it may reapply to the $KOMP$ of an \overline{NP} which itself has been moved to the S^0 -level by this very rule; in our case, whether it may reapply to $KOMP_2$.

Sentences in (39), which are presumably results of such a reapplication, sound unacceptable to most speakers:

- (39) (a) *[s'' [s' Péter-nek_j [so tettem t_j [\overline{NP} t_j [NP a t_j barátjá-Ø-nak]]]_i
 Péter-dat put-I the friend-poss-3sg-dat
 sínbe [\overline{NP} t_i [NP a t_i kar-já-Ø-t]]]]]
 splint-in the arm-poss-3sg-acc
 'It is Peter the arm of whose friend I splinted'
 (b) **A karját tettem a barátjának sínbe Péternek.*
 (c) **A barátjának tettem Péternek sínbe a karját.*

On the other hand, the rejection of these examples is perhaps not quite as strong as the rejection of those in (36), and indeed, some speakers claim they would tolerate (40) in sloppy conversation:

- (40) *'Kinek tettem a barátjának sínbe a karját?*
 'Who is it the arm of whose friend I splinted?'

The uncertainty concerning the status of these examples makes it unclear whether we have to do with some prohibition specific for the reapplication of the KOMP-to-S^o rule, or with some weaker constraint, say, some version of the A-over-A principle, or simply with perceptual difficulties. Theoretical considerations I am not familiar with at present might help decide this question: I will have nothing more to say about it here.

1.5. Articles, possession sentences, and other puzzles

You will have noticed that I have treated *a(z)* 'the' as a specified grammatical formative. In this section I will examine its role and related problems in more detail.

a(z) is obligatory if the possessor-NP is a personal pronoun and optional if it is a proper name. If the possessor-NP has an article, *a(z)* deletes in the phonetic component if adjacent to that article. Compare:

- (41) (a) (*a) a fiú-Ø kar-ja-Ø 'the boy's arm'
 the the boy-nom arm-poss-3sg
 (b) a fiú-nak a kar-ja-Ø
 the boy-dat the arm-poss-3sg
- (42) (a) (*a) egy fiú-Ø kar-ja-Ø 'a boy's arm'
 the a boy-nom arm-poss-3sg
 (b) egy fiú-nak a kar-ja-Ø
 a boy-dat the arm-poss-3sg

a(z) is the only item to occur in front of pronouns and proper names as nominative possessors. Here, unlike in phrases like *a fiú* 'the boy', it does not necessarily express unique identifiability. Its presence may be due to the fact that the possessive construction is always "definite" in the following technical sense: Hungarian verbs agree with their direct object in "definiteness", and the possessive construction in direct object position triggers the definite conjugation (regardless of whether *a(z)* is overt, cf. (41a) and (42a)).⁶

⁶ I put "definite" in quotes because first and second person pronouns, for instance, are "indefinite" for conjugation. Naturally, there arises the question of how this "definiteness" of the possessive construction is related to the generally noted syntactico-semantic definiteness of possessives, see e.g. Milsark (1977). Though I do not wish to discuss this problem here, let me just note that Hungarian has syntactico-semantically indefinite possessives too, which lack *a(z)*, and in one dialect these do not trigger the definite conjugation. See the discussion of (56)–(57)–(58) below.

- (47) (a) * $[S'' [S' [so [v \text{ van}] [\overline{NP} [NP \text{ Péter karja}]]]]]$
 (b) * $[S'' [S' [S [v \text{ van}] [\overline{NP} \text{ Péternek}_i [NP t_i \text{ karja}]]]]]$
 (c) * $[S'' [S' [\overline{NP} \text{ Péternek}_i t_i \text{ karja}]_j [so [v \text{ van}] t_j]]]]$

That is, so to speak, we only have direct evidence for the claim that *Péter* may leave the alleged \overline{NP} but not for the claim that it originates within that \overline{NP} . Furthermore, notice that (43) does not contain the article $a(z)$, which is again a point of difference from the above discussed possessive constructions. It appears therefore that in the course of solving certain puzzles we have created new ones.

In what follows I will consider the role of determiners in more detail. Even though my presentation will contain some loose ends, if viewed theoretically, I believe I will be able to show that possession sentences have no idiosyncratic properties whatsoever.

Complementary distribution is usually taken to be diagnostic for two items belonging to the same category. Using such arguments Jackendoff (1977) expands N^3 as follows:

$$(48) \quad N^3 \rightarrow (\left\{ \begin{matrix} N^3 \\ \text{Art}^3 \end{matrix} \right\}) N^2$$

While the assignment of *Peter's*, *this*, *the*, *a*, *every* etc. to the same position in (48) is well motivated on distributional grounds, it certainly presents a problem for interpretation. How do we know whether *Peter's friend* means 'the friend of Peter's', or 'a (specific) friend of Peter's', or 'some/any friend of Peter's', or even something else. This problem becomes quite perspicuous in Hungarian.

Consider the following strings:

- (49) (a) Péter-Ø három barát-ja-Ø
 the Peter-nom three friend-poss-3sg
 (b) Péter-nek a három barát-ja-Ø
 Peter-dat the three friend-poss-3sg
- (50) (a) *ez a Péter-Ø három barát-ja-Ø
 this the Peter-nom three friend-poss-3sg
 (b) !Péter-nek ez a három barát-ja-Ø
 Peter-dat this the three friend-poss-3sg
- (51) (a) *minden Péter-Ø három barát-ja-Ø
 every Peter-nom three friend-poss-3sg
 (b) !Péter-nek minden három barát-ja-Ø
 Peter-dat every three friend-poss-3sg

ez a 'this the = this' and *minden* 'every' are expected to belong to the Art³ slot. They do not co-occur with the nominative possessor. They do co-occur with the dative possessor; nevertheless, there is a trick here: this is what I meant to indicate by using ' in (50b) and (51b). The ' means that these are really only strings: the Focussing test, which was used in 1.2. to show that strings like (49b) may constitute a maximal major category even in S-structure, gives a negative result for (50b) and (51b).⁷ That is, we encounter the same phenomenon as in possession sentences: the possessed \bar{N} wears a possessive morpheme and agrees with a possessor — whose presence, however, cannot be demonstrated either in the subject position of NP or in KOMP, only outside \bar{NP} .

Let me now set up a hypothesis whose theoretical details are admittedly unclear but which seems to systematize the data at least. (Its status is comparable to that of the *[NP-to-VP] filter in earlier work in generative grammar.) Suppose the complementary distribution of \bar{NP} s and determiners as specifiers of NP reflects a property of S-structure but not of D-structure. If so, the rule expanding NP will be something like (52), supplemented with a "filter" like (53):

- (52) $NP \rightarrow \text{ArtP}/\bar{NP} \text{ INFL } \bar{N}$
 where the slash abbreviates "and/or".

- (53) (a) $*[\bar{NP} [\text{NP} [\text{ArtP LC}] [\bar{NP}\text{PM}] \text{ INFL } \bar{N}]]$
 (b) $*[\bar{NP} \text{PM}_i [\text{NP} [\text{ArtP LC}] [\bar{NP} t_i] \text{ INFL } \bar{N}]]$
 where LC stands for lexical content, and PM for phonetic matrix.

What (53) says is no more than "remove the phonetically realized possessor from \bar{NP} if you have a real determiner in ArtP".⁸ Thus (54a) will have the structure as in (54b),

- (54) (a) Szeretem Péternek minden barátját.
 'I like every friend of Peter's.'

⁷ It is somewhat unfortunate that Focussing is the only safe constituency test because, while its positive result is absolutely convincing, its negative result need not mean anything, one reason being that NPs with inherently narrow scope quantifiers cannot be Focussed, cf. Szabolcsi (1981a). That is, (51b) would be out anyway; (50b) ought to be possible in Focus, however, so I do not hesitate to take even the negative results to be diagnostic here.

⁸ Naturally, the possessor need not be phonetically realized — it may be dropped immediately in subject position. Hence *minden barátom* is not ruled out but, due to (53), it alternates with *(én)nekem* . . . *minden barátom* and not with **minden én barátom*. Thus, for the possessor it is really PM and not LC what matters. For ArtP it is the other way round, as we shall see directly.

- (b) [S" [S' [so szeret-em⁹ [NP Péter-nek_i]
 like-defobj + 1sg Peter-dat
 [NP t_i [NP [ArtP minden] [NP t_i] [N barát-já-Ø-t]]]]]]]
 every friend-poss-3sg-acc

where the trace in the subject position of the NP explains agreement and thematic role and the trace in KOMP explains the dative suffix.

As for *a(z)* 'the', I wish to maintain the claim made at the outset of this section, namely, that in the examples discussed it is not a real representative of the lexical category Art but is a mere formative which spells out the [+ "definite"] feature in the same surface slot as ArtP occupies. Since it has phonetic matrix but, crucially, no lexical content, "filter" (53) does not apply to it and thus (49a, b) are legitimate $\overline{\text{NP}}$ s at S-structure. (I do not wish to claim that it is impossible for a possessive construction to have a real definite article *a(z)* which does express unicity. In that case, however, filter (53) applies; the result is superficially indistinguishable from optional PRO-drop or movement cases with formative *a(z)*, though.)

Let us now return to the so far unsolved puzzle of possession sentences. Recall that (43) was claimed to have the underlying source as in (45):

- (43) Péter-nek van kar-ja-Ø-Ø. 'Peter has an arm'
 Peter-dat is arm-poss-3sg-nom
- (45) [S" [S' [so [V van] [NP [NP Péter INFL kar]]]]]]

I also noted that *a(z)* cannot occur here (and neither can *ez a* 'this' and *minden* 'every'). Now, the point is that the "possessor" *Péter* in these sentences behaves exactly as if there were [ArtP LC] in NP. All the alleged peculiarities of possession sentences are explained, then, if we can show the following claims to hold:

- (55) (a) Hungarian has a phonetically null lexical item of category Art (call it ZERO), which is free to occur in both [+ poss] and [– poss] NPs;
- (b) The verb *van* must have a complement with article ZERO, regardless whether that complement is [+ poss] or [– poss], and *van* shares this selectional property with a class of other verbs.

Let us consider claim (55a) first.

⁹ It might be argued that *em* in *szeretem* is actually a two-morpheme sequence, its 'defobj' part possibly not even unrelated to 'poss', cf. Allen (1964). I am using the generally accepted segmentation.

in the nominative or in KOMP do not co-occur. In the following sentences *olvasott* is the indefinite conjugation form for *read*:¹¹

- (58) (a) *[S'' János- \emptyset_i [S' [so nem olvasott t_i [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ [NP ZERO Chomsky- \emptyset cikk-é- \emptyset - t_i]]]]]
 (b) *[S'' János- \emptyset_i [S' [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ Chomsky-nak $_j$ [NP ZERO t_j cikk-é- \emptyset - t_i]]]_k
 [so nem olvasott t_i t_k]]]
 (c) [S'' János- \emptyset_i [S' [so nem olvasott t_i Chomsky-nak $_j$
 [$\overline{\text{NP}}$ t_j [NP ZERO t_j cikk-é- \emptyset - t_i]]]]]
 'John hasn't read any paper by Chomsky.'

This will have justified (55a).

Let us now turn to (55b) i.e. to the claim that *van* must have a complement with article ZERO, regardless whether it is [+ poss] or [- poss], and this is not an idiosyncratic property of *van*. Compare:¹²

- (59) (a) Van ZERO könyv- \emptyset . 'There is/are book(s).'
 is '> \exists ' book-nom
 (b) *Van a könyv- \emptyset . 'There is the book.'
 is the book-nom
 (c) *Van minden könyv- \emptyset . 'There is every book.'
 is every book-nom
 (60) (a) Van Péter-nek ZERO könyv-e- \emptyset - \emptyset . 'Peter has (a) book(s).'
 is Peter-dat '> \exists ' book-poss-3sg-nom
 (b) *Van Péter-nek a könyv-e- \emptyset - \emptyset . 'Peter has the book.'
 is Peter-dat the book-poss-3sg-nom
 (c) *Van Péter-nek minden könyv-e- \emptyset - \emptyset . 'Peter has every book.'
 is Peter-dat every book-poss-3sg-nom

¹¹ In other words, there is a vast difference between phrases which do not contain $a(z)$ but might contain it, and phrases which neither do nor might contain $a(z)$. In the former case there is no ArtP in the structure, and the reading is specific; in the latter, there is ZERO in ArtP and the reading is non-specific. The dialect which has definite conjugation in both cases obscures these differences, whereas the dialect which has definite conjugation in the first case and indefinite in the second, makes these differences clear throughout.

¹² I use '> \exists ' just in order to remind the reader that ZERO is a well-behaved narrow scope existential quantifier. (59b) is actually grammatical under similarly special conditions as *There is the book*. (59c) and (60c) are grammatical if *minden könyv* refers to kinds of books and not to individual books; these readings are not relevant here but can be accounted for.

The same selectional property is characteristic for a number of other verbs, e.g. *érkezik* 'arrive' and *kap* 'receive', with respect to its direct object. These verbs form "aspectual pairs" with their *meg* 'perfective' converb versions (*meg-van*, *meg-érkezik*, *meg-kap*), and the *meg*-versions in turn have the opposite selectional property. The explanation of these phenomena must be relegated to another paper; the facts reviewed here will suffice, however.

What has been said amounts to claiming that as soon as we recognize that *van* 'be' belongs to the same class as *érkezik*, *kap* etc. all the properties of possession sentences (which are now seen as a subtype of existential sentences, cf. (59), which is not an unreasonable result, cf. Radics 1980) follow rigorously, without a single further stipulation. The inference can be summarized as follows:

- (61) (a) *van* 'be' belongs to that class of verbs whose members select for a complement with article ZERO.
- (b) The (only) complement of *van* has the regular form
 $[\overline{NP} [NP [ArtP \text{ ZERO}] [\overline{NP} X] INFL \overline{N}]]$
 where INFL may be [+ poss] or [- poss].
- (c) If INFL is [+ poss], *X* may receive Case and thus may have a phonetic matrix.
- (d) Due to [ArtP LC], "filter" (53) applies, so *X* must be removed through KOMP (where it assumes the dative suffix), or PRO-dropped in its original position.
- (e) Hence *van* superficially appears to have an optional complement in the dative ("possessor") and another complement in the nominative ("possessed"); the latter has no overt article but wears a possessive morpheme and agrees with the dative complement in person and number.

Q. E. D.

Let me add that this argumentation did not serve merely to account for possession sentences but was also necessary for substantiating my previous claims about constructions with *a(z)*. Remember that, despite appearances, (5) and (9) do not contain any "real" article. Hence base rules (26) and (6') will be adequate for the following discussion.¹³

¹³ It is to be noted that this proposal accounts for all cases in which a dative correlates with agreement, with one exception. Namely, members of a class of verbs with modal meaning appear to have a complement in the dative, to be interpreted as the subject of the (optionally) inflected infinitive. E.g. (tentative segmentation):

(vii) Péter-nek sikerül-Ø győz-ni-(e-Ø)
 Peter-dat succeed-3sg win-inf-(poss-3sg)
 'Peter succeeds to win'

It is not clear if (vii) is to be treated analogously to possession sentences. For another analysis, see Dalmi (1981).

2. Speculations

I have been working on the assumption that, structurally speaking, noun phrases in Hungarian work very much like sentences in a configurational language, say, English. The proposed parallelism can be summarized by comparing (62)–(63) for English and (26)–(6') for Hungarian:

(62) $\bar{S} \rightarrow \text{COMP } S$

(63) $S \rightarrow \text{NP INFL } \bar{V}$ where $\text{INFL} = [[\pm \text{tense}], (\text{AGR})]$

(26) $\bar{\text{NP}} \rightarrow \text{KOMP NP}$

(6') $\text{NP} \rightarrow \bar{\text{NP}} \text{ INFL } \bar{N}$ where $\text{INFL} = [[\pm \text{poss}], (\text{AGR})]$

In both cases, the $[+ \text{tense/poss}]$ feature of INFL (or, alternatively, AGR, which is present in that case) governs the subject and assigns it nominative Case. Both S and NP have a peripheral position for operators, also serving as an escape hatch. “move- \bar{S} ” is paralleled by “move- $\bar{\text{NP}}$ ”, thematic role assignment to S by thematic role (and Case) assignment to $\bar{\text{NP}}$, and both \bar{S} and $\bar{\text{NP}}$ block government.

All this is hardly surprising if one expects to find cross-categorical similarities in grammar (as these days one seems to, see e.g. Jackendoff 1977, Riemsdijk 1978, and Chomsky 1981). Nonetheless, there are also obvious dissimilarities between S of English and NP of Hungarian, calling for some explanation. In what follows I will first point out problems of a more technical nature and then turn to speculation concerning the configurational versus non-configurational dichotomy. I will not devote much space to either of these because I cannot at present claim to have real answers. In view of the fact, however, that the assumptions elaborated in section 1 seem to account for a rather wide range of data quite successfully, I tend to regard the points to be raised as problems for further research, rather than intolerable gaps in the proposal.

2.1. “Technical” problems

The reader might duly expect a satisfactory answer to the following questions:

(64) (a) Where does the dative suffix in KOMP come from?

(b) Do non-subject $\bar{\text{NPs}}$ move to KOMP, and if not, why?

(c) Does the parallelism between S of English and NP of Hungarian extend to the behaviour of anaphors and pronouns?

It is far from obvious whether these questions are related. Let me begin by sketching a (pseudo-)solution which suggests they are.

Suppose we revised the above proposed base rules to the effect that INFL may govern both of the "possessor positions":

(65) (a) $\overline{\text{NP}} \rightarrow \overline{\text{NP}} \text{ INFL NP}$ where $\text{INFL} = [[\pm \text{poss}], (\text{AGR})]$

(b) $\text{NP} \rightarrow \overline{\text{NP}} \overline{\text{N}}$

On this assumption we might claim that the Case assigned by the $[+ \text{poss}]$ INFL is in fact genitive, with two different surface morphological realizations, \emptyset for the thematic $\overline{\text{NP}}$ and *-nak/-nek* for the peripheral $\overline{\text{NP}}$. In this way movement to the periphery of NP would only be possible from subject position: the moved category is admitted if it already has genitive Case, and merely its suffix is adjusted, and it is rejected if it has some other Case or no Case at all. This would answer (64a, b). The same assumption might seem to answer (64c) as well. To see the significance of the question, recall the asymmetry in the behaviour of anaphors and pronouns in S and NP in English:

(66) (a) $*[\text{sthey}_i \text{ believe } [\bar{\text{S}} [\text{seach other}_{i/j} \text{ won}]]]$

(b) $*[\text{sthey}_i \text{ believe } [\bar{\text{S}} [\text{stheyselves}_{i/j} \text{ won}]]]$

(c) $[\text{sthey}_i \text{ believe } [\bar{\text{S}} [\text{sthey}_{i/j} \text{ won}]]]$

(67) (a) $[\text{sthey}_i \text{ read } [\text{Npeach other's}_i \text{ books}]]$

(b) $*[\text{sthey}_i \text{ read } [\text{NPtheyselves}'_{i/j} \text{ books}]]]$

(c) $[\text{sthey}_i \text{ read } [\text{NPtheir}_{i/j} \text{ books}]]]$

Note that the most perspicuous justification for the original base rules (26) and (6') would be if the possessive construction in Hungarian followed precisely the sentential pattern (66). We have, however,

(68) (a) $[\text{sők}_i \text{ olvassák } [\overline{\text{NP}} [\text{NP(az) egymás}_i \text{ könyveit}]]]$
 they read each other's books

(b) $[\text{sők}_i \text{ olvassák } [\overline{\text{NP}} [\text{NPa maguk}_i \text{ könyveit}]]]$
 they read theyselves' books

(c) $[\text{sők}_i \text{ olvassák } [\overline{\text{NP}} [\text{NPaz ő}_j \text{ könyveiket}]]]$
 they read their books

which is actually more like the pattern of (69), where the embedded subject is governed by *for*:¹⁴

¹⁴ Non-disjoint reference in (68c) only seems possible if *they_i* is in Topic and *their_i books* is in Focus; otherwise PRO-drop is obligatory for the possessor. (Compare *They_i prefer for THEM_i to win.*) See also É. Kiss (1981d).

- (69) (a) [_Sthey_i prefer [_Sfor [_Seach other_i to win]]]
 (b) [_Sthey_i prefer [_Sfor [_Sthemselves_i to win]]]
 (c) [_Sthey_i prefer [_Sfor [_Sthem_i to win]]]

Putting the problem of the NP pattern (67) aside for a moment, in view of the revision proposal (65) the situation might be explained as follows. An anaphor must, and a pronoun must not, have an antecedent in its governing category, where the governing category for α is the minimal S or NP which contains both α and a governor of α . (68) patterns like (69) because INFL is now under $\overline{\text{NP}}$ and not under NP, as before, and thus the governing category is S, rather than NP. That is, (65) would seem to help maintain the intended parallelism, although in a modified sense, with respect to the place of INFL. Nevertheless, this explanation runs afoul of embedded possessors, i.e. NP_3 s. For instance, (70) ought to be ungrammatical because the anaphor in NP_3 has no antecedent within its governing category NP_1 :

- (70) $\check{\text{O}}\text{k}_i$ olvassák [$\overline{\text{NP}}_1$ INFL₁ [NP_1 [$\overline{\text{NP}}_2$ INFL₂ [$\overline{\text{NP}}_2$ [$\overline{\text{NP}}_2$ egymás_i]
 they read each other's
 [$\overline{\text{N}}_2$ barátai]]] [$\overline{\text{N}}_1$ könyveit]]]
 friends' books

Unless we find some independent motivation for assuming that NP_1 in (70) does not qualify as a governing category for $\overline{\text{NP}}_3$, the grammaticality of (70) and its brothers indicates that the trick in (65) does not in fact answer (64c).

While I cannot offer any better explanation for the above reviewed data, let me note that they seem to pose a problem for Chomsky's (1981, 209–217) proposal to account for the S vs. NP asymmetry observed in (66) vs. (67) as well. Namely, in his modified notion of a governing category Chomsky relies crucially on a distinction between categories with AGR and categories without AGR. As the Hungarian data indicate, the asymmetry is not really contingent on the presence or absence of AGR.¹⁵

It is not clear to what extent the failure of (65) to answer (64c) should disqualify its answers to (64a, b) as well. If the *-nak/-nek* suffix cannot be related to INFL, we might perhaps claim that it is just a peripheral position marker. It is not quite unusual for there to be such markers, consider for instance the topic-markers in many languages (e.g. *wa* in Japanese). Whether such a solution is feasible should be revealed by a general inquiry into the

¹⁵ Chomsky's proposal gives the correct results for Hungarian only if one declares that AGR in S is by definition a SUBJECT but AGR in NP is by definition not a SUBJECT — in which case one postulates, rather than deduces, that there will be asymmetries.

nature of such peripheral position markers.¹⁶ As for (64b), i.e. the question why only subject \overline{NPs} move to KOMP, an alternative answer may be that because there is no other candidate for such movement in fact. Note that while phrases like (71) do exist in Hungarian,

- (71) (a) Péter- \emptyset találkozás-a- \emptyset János-sal
 the Peter-nom meeting-poss-3sg John-with
 'Peter's meeting with John'

they mostly occur in titles or, at best, in the nominative or in the accusative. Their natural all-purpose form is a left-branching construction with a special present participial form of *van* 'be':

- (72) (a) Péter- \emptyset János-sal val-ó találkozás-a- \emptyset
 the Peter-nom John-with be-ing meeting-poss-3sg

An account of these constructions would go beyond the scope of the present paper; nevertheless, they may well indicate that *János-sal* 'John-with' in (71) is not in a position in N from which it might be expected to move to KOMP at all.

2.2. Configurational versus non-configurational

It was noted in 1.3. that KOMP displays a mixture of the properties of the peripheral positions COMP and F(ocus); in particular, it resembles the latter in that it optionally attracts non-*wh* NPs, too. Furthermore, in 1.4. I assumed that in addition to argument positions, S^0 also contains non-argument positions into which "inferior" operators may move from KOMP. Now, there arises the question: how come? The obvious, though vague answer seems to be that all this is due to the fact that our NP is a configurational category within a characteristically non-configurational language. Although at present I cannot offer a precise theoretical account for the interaction of those two aspects in a language, let me go into some speculation concerning the conceivable status of the configurational versus non-configurational distinction, which may at least serve as a background for such a theory.

Note first that in English, the scopes of quantifiers relative to one another and/or to other scope-bearing elements are determined partly by S-structure (by base-generation and "move-NP"), and partly in the LF (Logical Form) component, by the application of May's (1977) QR (Quantifier Raising) rule. Similarly, the scopes of *wh* operators are determined partly in S-structure,

¹⁶ I wonder if it is accidental that the peripheral position marker of NP, if *-nak/-nek* is to be analyzed that way, is identical to the dative suffix. One cannot help remembering that *for* is not merely complementizer in English, either.

by “move-*wh*”, and partly by a like-minded operation in LF, which I will call “raise-*wh*” to make the jargon of the discussion more transparent. For instance, “move-*wh*” applies to *who* and *where* in (73), while “raise-*wh*” is responsible for the scope ambiguity of *which book* (Chomsky 1981, 235):

- (73) Who remembers where we bought which book?

It appears that this twofold division of labour can hardly be a necessary property of language. Why? Consider the following points:

- (74) (a) The job done by raising rules in LF is indispensable: the scopes of all quantifiers and *wh* operators must be specified somehow, or else the sentence has no interpretation.
- (b) Movement rules in (English) syntax are more or less structure preserving (“move-NP” more and “move-*wh*” less), whereas raising rules in LF are by no means structure preserving: they create as many new nodes by adjunction as there are quantifiers and *wh* operators to be taken care of.
- (c) Reversed Effability Principle: no LF-rule can be assumed to perform a job which cannot be effectively performed in syntax in some human language.

By the Reversed Effability Principle I suggest, for instance, that there can be no “raise-*wh*” rule to adjoin *which book* to the embedded or to the matrix COMP in (73) in English if no human language can achieve the same effects in syntax, in one way or in another. To be sure, Hungarian is a language which can do that:¹⁷

- (75) (a) Ki emlékszik, hogy melyik könyvet hol vettük?
who remembers that which book_{acc} where bought-we
- (b) Ki emlékszik, hogy hol melyik könyvet vettük?
who remembers that where which book_{acc} bought-we
- (c) Ki melyik könyvet emlékszik, hogy hol vettük?
who which book_{acc} remembers that where bought-we
- (d) Melyik könyvet ki emlékszik hogy hol vettük?
which book_{acc} who remembers that where bought-we

¹⁷ That (75c, d) are better with the case of *melyik könyv* readjusted (*-et* → *-re*) is immaterial: this constituent must come from the embedded clause anyway. Incidentally, note that the fact that more than one *wh* word may be fronted does not make the Focusing test void; there is a both empirically and theoretically motivated difference between the ‘Focussing’ of *wh* and non-*wh* items.

As the respective answers paraphrased in English in (76) indicate, (75a, c) directly correspond to the two readings of (73), while (75b, d) represent further, although marked options:

- (76) (a) John remembers where we bought which book, i.e. that we bought the physics book in London and the novel in Paris.
- (b) John remembers where we bought which book, i.e. that in London, we bought the physics book and in Paris, the novel.
- (c) Jack remembers where we bought the physics book and Bill remembers where we bought the novel.
- (d) As for the physics book, Jack remembers where we bought it, and as for the novel, Bill remembers where we bought it.

Similar arguments might be made about quantifier scopes (although I do not claim that Hungarian sentences look like prenex forms in logic).

I am well aware that the statements in (74) are fairly vague; nevertheless, they seem to express the main point. In other words they point to the conclusion that in the unmarked case a movement rule has exactly the properties attributed to raising rules in LF. Such unmarked and non-structure-preserving movement rules are to be found in non-configurational (sub)systems. The highly constrained movement rules of English syntax are but special cases of these, their nature being due to the interdependent traits of configurationality and structure-preservingness. (All this, of course, is nothing but a reformulation of the old idea that the more you use structure for the expression of grammatical functions, the less you can make use of it for the expression of, say, scope relations.)

Let me now return to the problem how all this applies to possessive constructions in Hungarian. Although É. Kiss (1981a) managed to present the syntax of Topicalization and Focussing in a structure-preserving style, that appears to be more like a style than the main thing. In particular, the fact that her grammar does not generate any of the four versions of (75) indicates that something is wrong.¹⁸ Without offering an alternative formulation let me suggest that those rules rather have the properties of LF-rules and are not structure-preserving. Now, in view of the fact that it is "natural" for Hungarian to indicate scope relations in S-structure, the NP, which is a configurational category, acquires a "teleological" peripheral position in order to facilitate the making of its contribution. (Recall that English LF-rules also have to convert *Whose book did you read?* into *for which person x*,

¹⁸ For other problems with the raising of Topic and Focus in É. Kiss (1981a), see Kenesei (1981), Szabolcsi (1981c).

you read x's book.)¹⁹ In this light the mixed properties of KOMP are not surprising; neither is the assumption that "inferior" operators may move from KOMP to the S°-level without moving into argument positions, given that S° is no longer configurational, and thus such a movement need not be structure preserving in the classical sense.

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¹⁹ It may be noted that *mindenki* 'everybody', *senki* 'nobody', and *valaki* 'somebody' also preferably move to KOMP. In view of Hunyadi's (1981) results, this may also be important.

„MENTEK“

Von

T. TARNÓCZY

In der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft zählt die Frage des geschlossenen kurzen [ë] auch jetzt zu den immergrünen Problemen. Die Aussprache dieses Phonems lautet, besonders in neueren Zeiten und vor allem in der Hauptstadt (aber auch in anderen Gebieten des Landes), bei insgesamt bis zu 40–45% der Bevölkerung [ɛ], in den westlichen Gebieten Ungarns dagegen [ë], endlich in einigen südöstlichen Landteilen ähnlich zu [ø].

Eine Darstellung diesbezüglicher Ansichten zeigt,¹ daß sämtliche Sprachwissenschaftler und Schriftsteller die ursprüngliche Form [ë] in der Umgangssprache retten möchten. Um so mehr, weil der Unterschied zwischen /ɛ/ und /ë/ tatsächlich eine Bedeutungstrennende Rolle spielt. Es können z. B. folgende Beispiele herangezogen werden:

/e:rtɛm/	‘für mich’;	/e:rtëm/	‘ich verstehe’
/fejɛm/	‘mein Kopf’;	/fejëm/	‘ich melke’
/esëm/	‘meine Vernunft’	/ësëm/	‘ich esse’

Als ein weiteres Beispiel für die Bewahrung von [ë] in der Aussprache, kann die ungünstige Lautstatistik^{2 3} gelten. Unter den Vokalen der ungarischen Sprache hat die gesamte Anzahl von /ɛ/ + /ë/ einen ziemlich hohen Wert, wie dies aus Tabelle I. hervorgeht.

Infolge dieses hohen Wertes könnte man meinen, daß die Klangfarbe der Sprache äußerst monoton ist. Dieser Wert wurde jedoch aufgrund geschriebener Sprache ermittelt, die die Phoneme /ɛ/ und /ë/ nicht unterscheidet. In der Wirklichkeit klingt jedoch das Ungarische weniger monoton, da die Mehrheit der Sprachgemeinschaft [ɛ] und [ë] auseinanderhält.

¹ Kovalovszky M.: *Nyelvfejlődés, nyelvhelyesség* [Sprachentwicklung, Sprachrichtigkeit]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977.

² Tarnóczy, T.: *Phonetische Gesichtspunkte bei der Zusammenstellung von Texten für Verständlichkeitsmessungen*. In: *Akt. Probl. Phoniát. Logopäd.* 1 [1960], 109–117.

³ Jékel, P.—Papp F.: *Ady összes költői műveinek fonémastatisztikája* [Phonemstatistik von Ady's ges. poetischen Werken]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1974.

Das Sprechlautsystem [e:] — [ë] — [ɛ] ist aber doch nicht ganz unproblematisch. Die Schwierigkeit entsteht dadurch, daß zwischen [e:] und [ɛ] zwei wichtige informationstragende Unterschiede existieren: die Länge und die Qualität. Dagegen unterscheiden sich [e:] — [ë] nur durch die Länge, und [ë] — [ɛ] nur durch die Qualität. Man hat also bisher eine hypothetische mittlere Qualität, d. h. Formantenstelle zwischen [ɛ] und [e:] angenommen.

Tabelle I

Vokalstatistik im Ungarischen von sämtlichen Ady-Gedichten (3) und nach einem Mittelwert verschiedener Forscher (2)

Vokalen	Ady (%)	Verschieden (%)	Streuung (%)
[u] + [u:]	1,67	1,33	±0,1
[o]	4,60	} 5,08	±0,35
[o:]	1,00		
[a]	9,07	9,90	±0,45
[a:]	3,58	3,56	±0,15
[ɛ] + [ë]	10,02	10,63	±0,55
[e:]	3,42	3,55	±0,15
[i] + [i:]	4,62	4,73	±0,35
[ø]	1,25	} 2,06	±0,1
[ø:]	0,73		
[y] + [y:]	0,87	0,75	±0,05

Wie aber die physikalischen Untersuchungen gezeigt haben,⁴ so liegen die ersten Formanten von [e:] — [ɛ] sehr dicht nebeneinander, sie überlappen sich sogar an gewissen Stellen (Abb. 1).

Um den physikalischen Aspekt des Problems näher zu untersuchen, habe ich einige Experimente unternommen. Da nur aber damals (1964/65) keine verlässlichen modernen Instrumente in unserem Institut zur Verfügung standen, habe ich einige Aufnahmen nach Stockholm mitgenommen und dort Analysen mittels eines Sonographen durchgeführt.⁵ Wie es zu erwarten war, lagen sämtliche ersten Formanten von [ë] im Bereich der Streuung von [e:]. Nacheinigen Monaten fuhr ich nach New York,⁶ Columbia University, wo ich János Lotz, diese Ergebnisse mitteilte. Lotz stammte aus dem Komitat Somogy (Südungarn) und beherrschte ausgezeichnet den Dialekt seines

⁴ Tarnóczy, T.: Acoustic Analysis of Hungarian Vowels. In: Speech Transm. Labor. QPSR 4 [1964], 8, Stockholm 1965.

⁵ Der Verfasser möchte seinen besten Dank für diese Möglichkeit Herrn Professor G. Fant (Speech Transmission Laboratory, Stockholm) ausdrücken.

⁶ Die Studienreise nach New York verdanke ich der Ford Foundation.

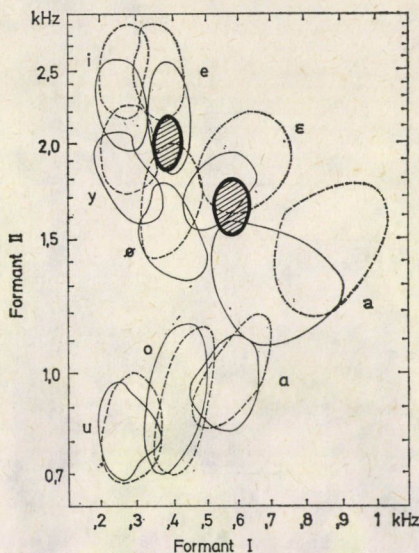


Abb. 1. Die Verteilung der ungarischen Vokalqualitäten gemäß den ersten zwei Formanten für männliche (durchgehende Linien) und weibliche (unterbrochene Linien) Sprache von 8 Personen (512 Vokale). Die Daten bezüglich [ë] und [ɛ] nach der Aussprache von János Lotz sind auch angegeben (schraffiert)

Heimatortes. Ich hatte die Gelegenheit, Aufnahmen von seiner Aussprache zu machen. Lotz wählte das bekannte Beispiel *mentek*, da die vier Kombinationen vier verschiedene Bedeutungen darstellen:

- /mëntëk/ = 'ihr geht'
- /mëntek/ = 'sie gingen'
- /mentëk/ = 'ich rette'
- /mentek/ = 'frei von'

Lotz hat diese vier Wörter in schneller Aufeinanderfolge in das Mikrophon des Sonagraphen gesprochen (Abb. 2). Es wurden dann von allen Vokalen mehrere Analysen durchgeführt. Abb. 3 und 4 zeigen die Segmenten-Analyse aller Vokale. Aus Abb. 2 ist es schon klar zu sehen, daß die ersten Formanten von [ë] tiefer, die zweiten dagegen höher liegen, als die von [ɛ]. Die genauere Angaben sind in Tabelle II zusammengefasst.

Die Ablesungen waren — wie üblich — nicht pünktlich genug, deshalb habe ich folgende Methode angewandt. Zuerst entnahm ich dem Sonagramm (Abb. 2) die Mittelstellen der einzelnen Formanten für alle acht Vokale, möglichst stets im stationärem Bereich. Dann nahm ich die Segmenten-Bilder (Abb. 3 und 4) und versuchte die wahrscheinlichsten Resonanz-Maxima zu bestimmen. An den Stellen a, b, d und f standen zwei verschiedene Segmenten-

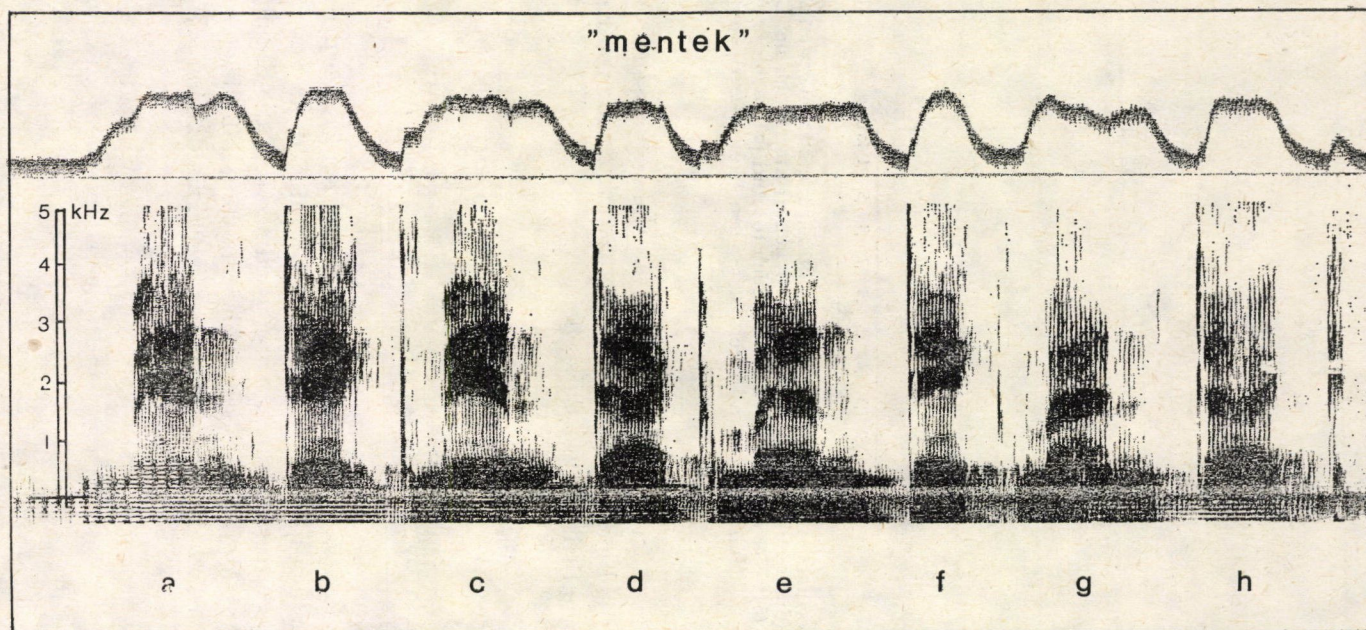


Abb. 2. Sonagram unbilder der vier untersuchten Wörter in der Reihenfolge: [mëntëk], [mëntek], [mentek]

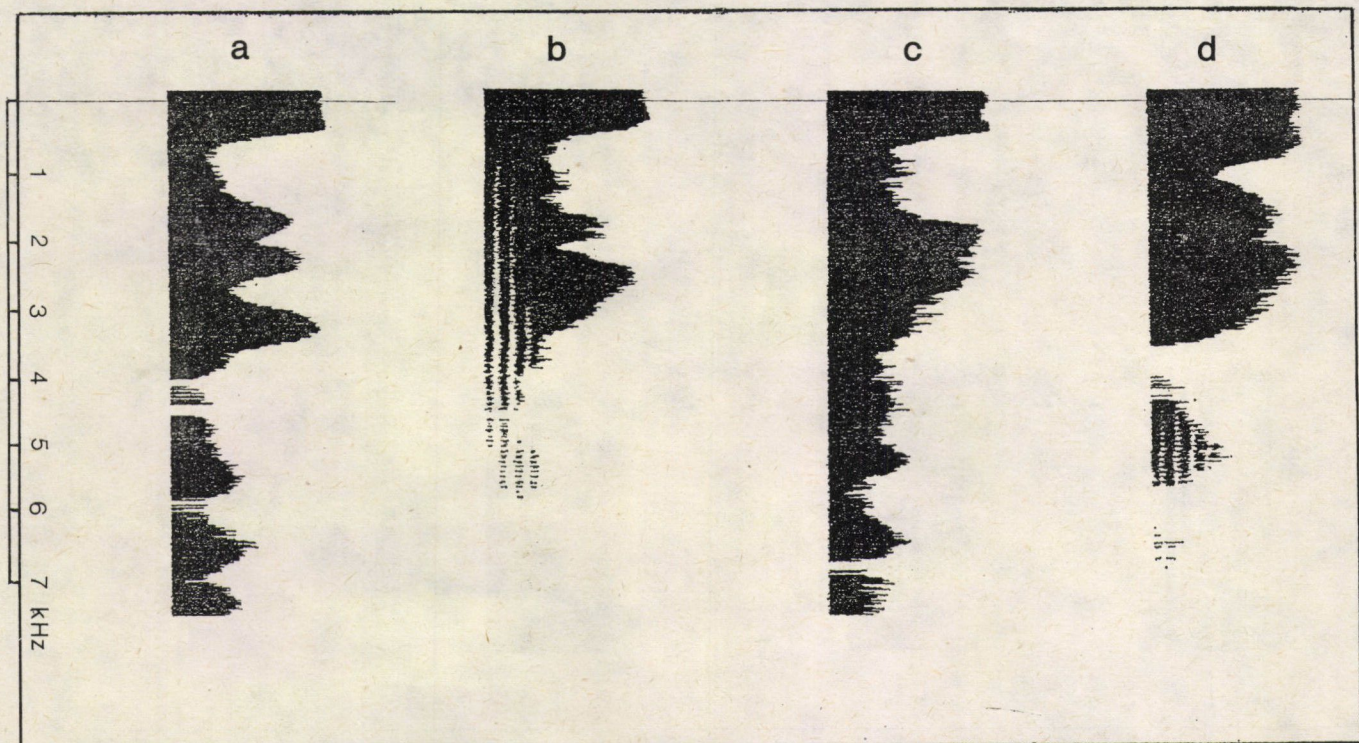


Abb. 3. Segmenten-Analyse der Stellen a—d aus Abb. 2

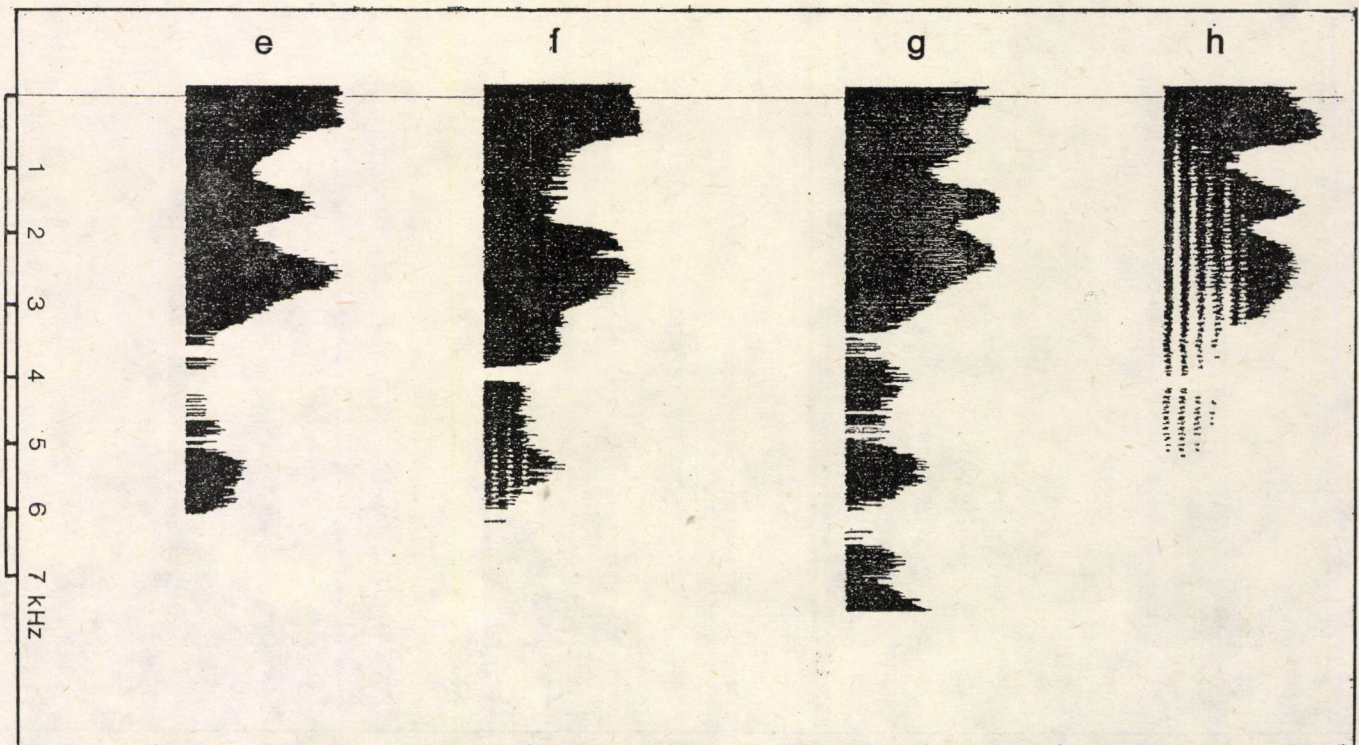


Abb. 4. Segmenten-Analyse der Stellen e—h aus Abb. 2

Tabelle II

Formantenstellen von [ë] und [ɛ] nach Abb. 2

Zeichen	Phonem	Formant I (Hz)	Formant II (Hz)	Formant III (Hz)
a	[ë]	425	2025	2750
b	[ë]	325	2100	2750
c	[ë]	400	2100	2800
d	[ɛ]	675	1675	2550
e	[ɛ]	725	1725	2626
f	[ë]	350	2100	2750
g	[ɛ]	725	1700	2600
h	[ɛ]	625	1675	2625

Analysen zur Verfügung, so war es möglich Mittelwerte zu ermitteln. Die größte Schwierigkeit bedeutete in beiden Fällen die Ablesung der ersten Formantstelle. So hatte ich z. B. aus der unmittelbaren Ablesung (Abb. 2) für den ersten Formanten von [ë] 375 ± 50 Hz gefunden, aus den Segmentenbilder dagegen 360 ± 75 Hz. Der Unterschied zwischen den ersten Formanten von den zwei fraglichen Phonemen ist trotzdem eindeutig signifikant. Bei dem zweiten Formantenstellen war das Fehlerprozent niedriger und der Unterschied noch klarer.

Die Formantenstruktur der zwei Phonemen, die man aufgrund der obigen Erwägungen zusammenstellen konnte, zeigt Tabelle III. Die Mittelwerte der ersten zwei Formantenstellen in der Tabelle II sind auch in Abb. 1 angegeben. Der dritte Formant — wie dies meistens der Fall ist — weist keine signifikante Abweichung bei zwei Lauten auf.

Tabelle III

Formantenstruktur von [ë] und [ɛ] nach der Aussprache von János Lotz

Phonem	Formant I (Hz)	Formant II (Hz)	Formant III (Hz)
[ë]	370 ± 60	1980 ± 200	2580 ± 250
[ɛ]	580 ± 80	1620 ± 120	2540 ± 150

Aus den Ergebnissen geht es klar hervor, daß laut der physikalischen Analyse des ungarische Phonem [ë] mit der kurzen Form von [e:] identisch ist. Dieses Ergebnis ist in guter Übereinstimmung mit unseren früheren Ermittlungen (siehe Fn. 4).

THE KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN HUNGARY¹

By

T. TERESTYÉNI

The competence of a population to speak and understand foreign languages forms an integral part of its communication culture. The richer and wider the knowledge of foreign languages is in a community, the more possibilities this community has for direct contacts with other cultures, for establishing relations over the frontiers, across the borders, and, in general, for international communication. In order to survey how many and what languages Hungarian citizens speak we have collected a large amount of data through questionnaires. Our data may offer useful information about the spread of foreign language communication culture, the linguistic-ethnic composition of the population, the most important changes of foreign language culture, and the efficiency of language teaching in Hungary.² Apart from data collection we have also tried to find some connection between the knowledge of foreign languages and the audience figures of foreign languages television programmes available in some territories of Hungary.

1. Some necessary methodological remarks

Before presenting our results we must call the attention to the methodological limitation of our examination. First of all we must point out that our data are based not on surveying the actual knowledge of languages, not on the results of tests in foreign languages, but on the answers to such questions as for example: "Do you understand and speak any language other than Hungarian?" Depending on the self-confidence, and the self-image of the persons asked, the affirmative answers to such questions may cover very different levels of language knowledge.

¹ This is an extended version of a paper presented at the 2nd Colloquy on "Languages and European Cooperation" held in Urbino 1981.

² The knowledge and the teaching of foreign languages in the European countries has been reported by Dr. György Szépe in a Unesco publication: György Szépe, *Less taught languages in Europe (their place in education and their role)*. Unesco, Paris, ED-80/WS/14, January 1980.

The questionees probably evaluated their knowledge of languages according to their own communication needs and practice. For example, for a language teacher, an interpreter or a guide only the possession of the highest linguistic capacities constitutes a real knowledge of a foreign language. Those, however, who use foreign languages mainly for obtaining professional-technical information, may be satisfied with a less perfect, passive knowledge restricted to understanding the essence of professional literature. For those who learn a language to be able to make themselves understood in the usual situations of tourism even a knowledge grammatically not quite correct and restricted to the vocabulary of everyday life may be sufficient. Considering all this we may say that our sociolinguistic investigation took into account those Hungarian citizens who think that they can get on with one or more foreign languages on the level they believe to be adequate for satisfying their actual or supposed communicative needs.

When planning the survey we knew, of course, that we could have collected exact data excluding the eventual distortions of self-images only by extensive foreign language testing. However, it was practically impossible for us to carry that out because of the magnitude of the survey samples and the large number of the foreign languages taken into consideration. We could also have tried to estimate the foreign language capacities of the population on the basis of the (declared) results of school studies, language courses and language examinations of different degrees. But this seemingly evident method would have involved a far greater danger of distortion than self-evaluation. The results of language exams passed at schools or different courses do not reflect at all the actual spread of the knowledge of foreign languages in the population. For example, the bilingual ethnic groups living in Hungary — with few exceptions — generally do not have any certificate of passing a language examination nor have they such a linguistic or grammatical consciousness which would be necessary for them to pass such an examination (This fact would also mar the reliability of a survey made by testing.) On the other hand — as we shall see later on — primary or secondary school education (the certificate of final examination) or even successful language examinations at colleges or universities do not necessarily guarantee perfect knowledge of a foreign language.

Therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that due to the absence of objective criteria the subjects asked under- or overestimated their linguistic capacities, consequently the statistics based on their answers may be distorted in various direction. However, the likelihood of such distortions is practically quite small, since we may suppose that for those who do not speak any foreign language — at least on a minimal level of estimation — the knowledge of foreign languages does not represent such a positive value, such a high prestige quality they would consider worth to state about themselves. On the other

hand, considering those who know other languages, it is not probable, even in case of the national minorities exposed to considerable maltreatment in the past, that for some reason many of them would find it better to conceal their knowledge of a certain foreign language (below we shall discuss that Gypsies may be an exception).

Another problematic point of the data collection was the geographical-territorial distribution of the sample. Of course, not even the best samples, statistically large enough and representative according to the basic demographic variables (sex, age, settlement type etc.), can extend to all those settlements of the country which are important from the ethnic-linguistic point of view. It may occur, for example, that in some regions densely populated by national minorities no settlement inhabited by nationalities is included in the sample, and this evidently reduces the data referring to these national minorities. Similarly, in some regions national minorities may happen to be included among the questionees in too large proportions, and this may distort the statistics upwards. We may suppose, however, that since in Hungary national minorities are not concentrated in large blocks of settlements, but they are rather dispersed in the territory of the country, in case of a large sample the local under- and overrepresentativity will be balanced on the national level.

The measurement of knowledge in the Gypsy language formed a further problematic point. Owing to the deficiencies in the registration of the population and for various other reasons, the Gypsy population is generally under-represented in the Hungarian sociological surveys and public opinion polls, as soon as the survey sample is set up. Furthermore, if we consider the difficulties in approaching and asking Gypsy people we can expect the underrepresentation of the Gypsy population even without seeing the data. From the linguistic point of view further distortion may be caused by the fact that a part of the Gypsy people asked probably do not want to admit for reasons of prestige that they know the Gypsy language. On the basis of all this we can be sure that our data do not reflect the proportion of Gypsy speaking population in Hungary.

Taking into account the above mentioned uncertainties, in order to control reliability we collected data by two surveys: we made one of them in 1979 and the other in 1980. Both surveys were based on samples of 10,000 adult Hungarian citizens over the age 18. The samples were representative according to sex, age, residence, occupation and education and extended to 99 settlements of the country. The reliability of our investigation is demonstrated by the fact that the results of the two surveys differed only to a minimal extent and even these minimal discrepancies can be well explained by the differences between the questionnaires and the questions and some geographical-territorial features of the samples. This paper is based on the data collection of 1980 which took

into consideration the experiences obtained through the survey of the previous year and was more thorough in its questions and richer in information.

Finally we must enumerate the foreign languages inquired about in our investigation. The list contains four languages spoken all over the world, and therefore referred to as world-languages: German, English, French and Russian — German includes the dialects spoken by the German (Swabian) minorities living in Hungary. Other languages spoken by large communities in Europe and in various part of the world (Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Hindi, Indonesian, etc.) are known in Hungary only to a minimal extent, thus they were included in the category of "Other languages". This category also contains the internationally less important languages of the smaller European nations which are spoken by very few people in Hungary (Italian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, the Scandinavian languages etc.), the classical dead languages (Latin and Ancient Greek), and Esperanto. Rumanian and Slovak, which are spoken by large national minorities in Hungary are classified as separate categories while the languages of the South Slavic minorities (Serbian, Croatian, Slovenia) are included in the "South Slavic" category. Modern Greek, which is spoken by an insignificant number of inhabitants, and Yiddish, which can be found sporadically too, are placed in the category of "Other languages". The Gypsy language and its several dialects were treated as a separate category. As a whole we worked with nine categories of the foreign languages relevant to the communication culture in Hungary: German, English, French, Russian, Rumanian, Slovak, South Slavic, Gypsy, and Other languages.

2. The knowledge of languages as reflected by some socio-demographic variables

14% of the Hungarian population over 18 speak one foreign language, 3,5% speak two, and less than 1% know three or more foreign languages ($N = 9870$). 52% of those who know languages are men, 48% of them are women ($N = 1378$). 15% of all the Hungarian adult men and 13% of all the Hungarian adult women speak some foreign language ($N = 4830$; $N = 5040$). The higher proportion of men mainly follows from the fact that their education is generally higher than that of women, since — as seems to be evident — the knowledge of foreign languages has a very strong correlation with education.

The ratio of speakers of foreign languages is much higher among those with higher education than among those with lower education. It is striking that elementary school studies have absolutely no effect on the knowledge of languages, although foreign languages are taught in the upper section of the elementary school. It is even more thought-provoking that although the rate of those knowing languages is much higher among the people with secondary or

The relationship between the knowledge of languages and education
(%)

	Elementary school not completed	Elementary school	Secondary school	College, university	Total of inhabitants
Knows foreign languages	7.0	7.2	23.8	47.4	13.9
Does not know any foreign language	93.0	92.8	76.2	52.6	86.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	2959	4041	2062	808	9870

especially with higher education, even these higher proportions do not reflect the fact that these people were taught languages for a long time and theoretically on a high level.

Among the languages best known in Hungary we mainly find Indo-European world-languages and the languages of the neighbouring smaller nations.

The distribution of the knowledge of languages according to languages

	In percentage of the adult population	In percentage of the adults knowing foreign languages
German	7.8	55.9
English	1.9	14.2
French	0.8	5.7
Russian	3.0	21.7
Rumanian	0.6	4.3
Slovak	1.4	8.9
Southern Slavic	0.8	5.7
Gypsy	0.5	3.4
Other languages	0.6	4.5
Total of those knowing foreign languages	13.9	
N =	9750	1378

Most widespread is the knowledge of the German language: on the one hand, it is the language of an important national minority living in Hungary, and on the other, as a historical-cultural tradition, it is often chosen for studying. German is followed by the Russian language, but its knowledge does not at all reflect the fact that it is a compulsory subject in the Hungarian education system. English is the third: its international use, its importance

in the scientific, technical and commercial life and its role in pop-culture considerably increased its popularity in the last decades. Compared to these three, the knowledge of the French language is quite restricted. Next to German Slovak is the most significant language spoken by a national minority and it is followed by the South Slavic languages and Rumanian. The Gypsy population and consequently the Gypsy language are underrepresented because of the difficulties mentioned above. At the top of the category of "Other languages" we found Italian, Polish, Czech, Spanish and Bulgarian.³

Since a large number of people speak foreign languages as members of the national minorities in Hungary, in order to get an adequate picture of the linguistic culture of the population we must separate the linguistic competence of the national minorities speaking a foreign language as their mother tongue from the foreign language knowledge of the non-native speakers obtained in various forms of education or in other ways.

More than one-third of the Hungarian adults knowing foreign languages are native speakers of them. The knowledge of the German is the most frequent as a native language, and it is followed by Slovak, the South Slavic languages and Rumanian. The number of Russian native speakers is insignificantly few, and the population speaking Gypsy is underrepresented for the reasons already referred to. The national minorities living in Hungary are mostly fluent bilinguals: according to the situation they can use Hungarian just as well as their native language.

Those who are not native speakers mainly know the four great languages spoken in most parts of the world. The languages of the national minorities

³ There are few reliable data in the international publication. So, for example, Gyula Décsy's highly valued book often referred to in the literature contains completely unfounded data on the knowledge of some European languages in Hungary.

Décsy's data	English	French	German	Russian
Total number of the speakers of these languages in Hungary	1.000.000	200.000	1.500.000	2.000.000
Number of speakers of these languages as % of the total population of Hungary	9.7	1.9	14.5	19.4
Our data				
Number of speakers of these languages as % of the adult population over 18 in Hungary	1.9	0.8	7.8	3.0

It is probable that Décsy was influenced strongly by the official data and statistics concerning the school teaching of these languages. The differences between Décsy's and our data all show that the measurement of the spread of foreign languages in a population must not rely solely on the school statistics.

Cf. Gyula Décsy, *Die linguistische Struktur Europas. Vergangenheit — Gegenwart — Zukunft*. Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 1973.

The distribution of native and not native speakers according to languages

	Native speakers (national minorities)	Non native speakers
German	2.37	5.44
English	0	1.99
French	0	0.80
Russian	0.05	2.98
Rumanian	0.32	0.28
Slovak	1.16	0.23
South Slavic	0.71	0.05
Gypsy	0.47	0
Other languages	0	0.63
Total of languages	5.08	8.82
N =	9870	9870

are known only in a limited circle of non-native speakers. Even Rumanian and Slovak which show a relatively high ratio among non-native speakers are spoken only by those who have lived together with national minorities or immigrated from the neighbouring countries and resettled in Hungary. This is not surprising, since in Hungary — with the exception of the special schools of the national minorities — Rumanian, Slovak (Czech) and the South Slavic languages are taught neither in the elementary nor in the secondary schools and the teaching of these languages in colleges and language courses is not considerable. Gypsy is not taught at all; apart from a few bold philologists nobody learns the Gypsy language.

There are many possibilities for non-native speakers to acquire a foreign language: school studies at various levels, language courses organized by several institutions, private tutoring, etc. The following table shows the distribution of learners (age: 18 to 29) according to where they studied the languages within the current educational system.

In case of all the three "Western" languages secondary education seems to be the largest source of knowledge. The role of private lessons is also considerable in case of German and English. Relatively few people took advantage of the opportunities offered by language courses, especially among those who speak French. The knowledge of the Russian language is mainly based on school studies of different degrees; this is quite natural, since Russian is the language generally compulsory in the Hungarian institutions of education. Only very few of those knowing Russian have studied it in language courses, and even less in private lessons. A relatively large proportion of those speaking German or English made use of opportunities other than educational character. In order to exclude misinterpretations we must call the attention to the fact

The contribution of the different forms of education to the knowledge of foreign languages

	German	English	French	Russian
Elementary school	0	0	0	100.0
Secondary school	55.5	60.2	73.6	86.9
College, university	16.2	39.7	10.5	42.7
Language courses	14.5	20.5	5.2	7.2
Private tutoring	39.3	34.9	15.7	2.9
Other possibilities (Staying abroad, correspondence, self-education, etc.)	19.6	19.3	10.5	10.8
N (all those who speak foreign languages between 18 and 29)	108	78	18	137

(The total is not 100% since the same language could be studied in all the forms of education casted here.)

that the above table does not show which of the sources was the most efficient, most successful in helping to attain the knowledge of a language; it only reflects the proportion of the various means of acquiring foreign languages among a section of the population.

The distribution of native and non-native speakers according to the age shows temporal trends that will definitely exert an influence on the future development of the foreign language communication culture in Hungary.

The rate of foreign language speakers in the age-groups according to languages

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	over 60	All the age-groups
<i>Native speakers</i>						
German	0.75	0.86	2.49	3.65	5.24	2.37
Rumanian	0.08	0.10	0.28	0.57	0.61	0.32
Slovak	0.31	0.76	0.73	1.20	2.12	1.16
South Slavic	0.35	0.56	0.39	1.02	1.22	0.71
Total of the languages of the national minorities	1.49	2.28	3.89	6.44	9.19	4.56
<i>Non-native speakers</i>						
German	4.77	4.94	3.50	5.65	5.52	5.44
English	3.44	2.04	1.86	0.97	1.22	1.99
French	0.79	0.76	0.62	0.68	0.89	0.80
Russian	6.05	4.03	1.75	1.48	0.89	2.98
Total of the world- languages	11.95	11.29	7.35	6.87	6.32	8.75
Total number of the age-groups	2263	1960	1767	1750	2130	9870

The number of native speakers decreases in direct ratio to the decrease of age in case of all the languages spoken by the national minorities. From this we must draw the conclusion that the number of inhabitants speaking a foreign language as their mother tongue is diminishing and a considerable decrease can be expected as the older generations die out. The South Slavic minority cherish their linguistic traditions most, while the Rumanian and Slovak nationalities pay the least attention to preserving their language. The question, what political, economic, and cultural factors, besides the natural ethnic assimilation, account for the decline of the number of native speakers, remains to be answered by other investigations.

The number of non-native speakers grows parallelly with the decrease of age. This is a natural trend since the lower age-groups have higher education levels. The increase is first of all due to the considerable growth in the number of those who speak Russian but the gradual advance in the knowledge of the English language is also worthy of attention. The knowledge of the French language remains approximately on the same level in all the age-groups, while in case of the German a small decrease can be observed among the younger generations as compared to the older population. This means that in the future — parallelly with the increase of the education level of the population — the number of those knowing English and especially Russian will grow and the number of German speakers will stagnate or perhaps decrease.

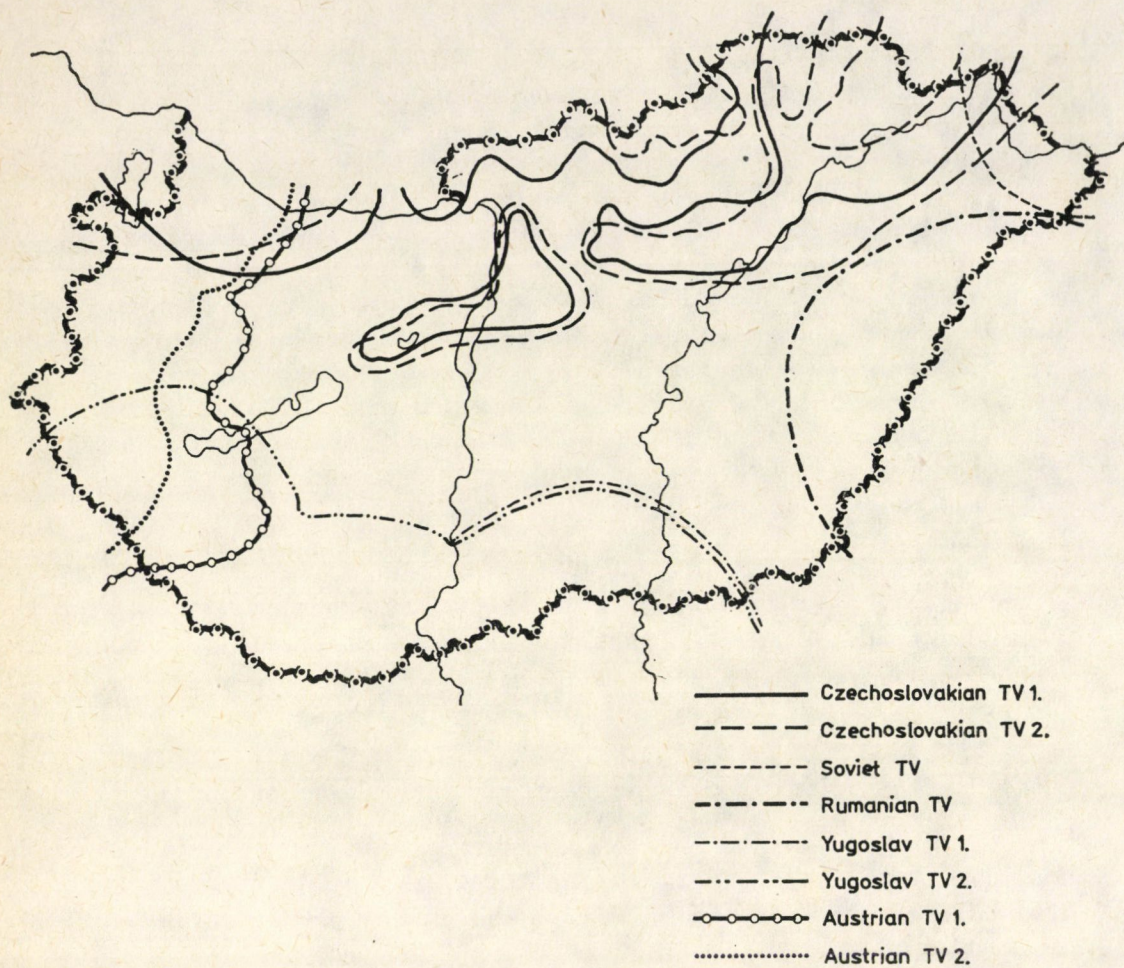
3. The knowledge of foreign languages and the audience of foreign language television programs

The use of foreign language mass media can play an important role in stimulating the study of foreign languages and in strengthening the foreign language communication culture (the culture of the national minorities). Therefore it is worth examining whether any relationship can be observed between the audience figure of foreign language television programs available in Hungary and the knowledge of foreign languages.

The following map shows in which territories of Hungary the television programs of the neighbouring countries can be received in an acceptable quality of picture and sound.

The territories where the Austrian, Czechoslovakian, Rumanian and Yugoslav television programs can be received coincide to a considerable extent — although by far not completely — with the areas of settlement of those national minorities who potentially understand the language of the foreign programs.

29,1% of the viewers over 18 watch regularly or occasionally foreign programs ($N = 8901$). This amounts to 26,3% of the Hungarian adult population ($N = 9861$).



The audience of foreign television programs

	In percentage of the viewers of foreign programs	In percentage of all the viewer
Viewers of the Austrian TV	33.4	9.7
Viewers of the Czechoslovakian TV	32.9	9.6
Viewers of the Soviet TV	3.1	0.9
Viewers of the Rumanian TV	13.9	4.0
Viewers of the Yugoslav TV	35.5	10.3
Total of the viewers of foreign programs =		2594
Total of viewers =		8902

The rate of those who watch foreign television programs is higher among the people speaking foreign languages than among those who do not know any foreign language.

The knowledge of languages and the audience of foreign television programs

	Speaks foreign languages	Does not know any foreign language
Views foreign programs	34.3	28.3
Does not view foreign programs	65.7	71.7
Total	100.0	100.00
N =	1342	7477

This table is not conclusive in itself. The following data, however, demonstrate the relationship between the knowledge of languages and the audiences of foreign television programs.

What television programs are watched by those who know the language of the neighbouring countries?
(%)

	Knows German	Knows Russian	Knows Rumanian	Knows Slovak	Knows some South Slavic language
Views the Austrian TV	41.9	31.1	7.1	31.2	16.6
Views the Czechoslovakian TV	33.0	48.1	28.5	81.2	2.7
Views the Soviet TV	0.4	2.8	14.3	0	0
Views the Rumanian TV	6.3	15.1	0	9.3	2.7
Views the Yugoslav TV	32.2	43.3	50.0	6.2	83.3
Number of those who speak some foreign language and watch foreign programs	236	106	14	32	36

(The total is not 100% since one who knows some of the languages enumerated here may receive several foreign television programs.)

Among the viewers of foreign programs those who know German first of all watch the Austrian television, those who speak Slovak the Czechoslovakian TV, and the people speaking some South Slavic language view the programs of the Yugoslav television. The data clearly reflect that those who speak German, Slovak or a South Slavic language and watch foreign programs, mainly watch foreign programs in the language they know.

Here one can raise the objection that the Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav television may be just as or even more popular among those

who do not speak these languages properly or do not speak any foreign language. In order to exclude this objection we must examine the proportion of those who do not understand the language of the programs although they watch the Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav television programs.

The audience of the Austrian television and the knowledge of German
%

	Knows German	Does not know German
Views the programs of the Austrian television	11.3	7.7
Does not view the programs of the Austrian television	88.7	92.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	785	8965

The audience of the Czechoslovakian and the knowledge of Slovak
(%)

	Knows Slovak	Does not know Slovak
Views the programs of the Czechoslovakian TV	21.7	7.0
Does not view the programs of the Czechoslovakian TV	78.3	92.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	120	9630

The audience of the Yugoslav television and the knowledge of Southern Slavic languages
%

	Knows some South Slavic language	Does not know South Slavic language
Views the programs of the Yugoslav TV	36.6	7.6
Does not view the programs of the Yugoslav TV	63.4	92.4
Total	100.0	100.0
N =	82	9750

These tables show that those who speak German, Slovak or some South Slavic languages watch the programs of the Austrian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovakian television in greater proportions than those who do not speak these

languages. The data justifies the assumption that with respect the people speaking German, Slovak, or the South Slavic languages a close connection can be observed between the knowledge of those languages and watching television programs transmitted in the foreign languages they know. We may add that since in Hungary Slovak and the South Slavic languages are known mostly by native speakers we can be sure that those who watch the Slovak and Yugoslav television and speak these languages are native speakers. To avoid misinterpretations we must point out that from the above fact one cannot conclude that those who know languages watch this or that foreign program only or mainly because they want to practice or strengthen their knowledge of foreign languages. The possibility to practice or learn foreign languages is undoubtedly attractive but it can hardly account for the choice between the programs of foreign and Hungarian origin.

ERSTE HILFE FÜR EINEN NACHHELFER

“Szólj, s ki vagy, elmondom. —
Ne tovább, ismerlek egészen...”

(Ferenc Kazinczy)

Im zweiten Band der Neuen Folge der Ural-Altaischen Jahrbücher (S. 111–113) erschien eine interessante Schrift von Herrn Professor Gerhard Ganschow (München) unter dem Titel „Nachhilfe in Ostjakisch“, die als eine Art Reaktion auf meine Rezension über die Schlachter-Festschrift anzusehen ist, in der ich auch Ganschows Studie behandelt habe. Meine damaligen Bemerkungen veranlaßten Ganschow, diese kleine aber zweifelsohne bemerkenswerte Schrift zu veröffentlichen, in der er sich gezwungen fühlte, zwei wichtige Dinge vor die Öffentlichkeit zu tragen:

A) Den von ihm zitierten ostjakischen Satz *tüw rupijtam tašan šóras χujet tüw ow jetpetna mellana pōšetl* (OstjChr. 99^{13–14}) übersetzte er wie folgt: ‘der reiche Kaufmann, bei dem er gearbeitet hatte, fegt vor seiner Tür mit dem Besen’. Die Übersetzung hielt ich in meiner Rezension für verfehlt und schlug eine andere vor. Ganschow hat mich aber freundlicherweise in seiner zitierten Schrift darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß gerade ich es bin, der den Fehler beging. Ich gestehe, er hat recht. Gleichzeitig wollte er — mit einer wohl besseren Sache würdigem Eifer — auch beweisen, daß ich des Ostjakischen nicht mächtig bin. Um seine Aussage zu beweisen, übersetzte er meine Fehldeutung ins Ostjakische und begründete die Richtigkeit seines Verfahrens in drei Punkten.

In dem ersten schreibt er u. a.: „*šóras-χu* (*χot*)-*ow* anstelle von *tüw ow* ist notwendig, weil bisher nur vom Haus des Bauer-Alten (Vater-Alten) die Rede war; *tüw ow* könnte sich aber nur auf das Haus des Bauer-Alten beziehen“. Mir scheint, daß Ganschow hier nicht unbedingt recht haben kann, der dritte Satz des Märchens lautet nämlich so: *kīrsanin ojka šóras χu χōšna rupijtl, ow jetpe mellana pōšetl* (OstjChr. 91_{2–3}) ‘der Bauer-Alte arbeitet bei dem Kaufmann, er fegt die Stelle vor der Tür mit Besen’. Die Tür (*ow* ‘Tür’) wird noch zweimal erwähnt (OstjChr. 92⁹, 92^{13–16}), beide Stellen beziehen sich tatsächlich schon auf die Tür (des Hauses) des Bauer-Alten, die Tür in dem zitierten Satz aber kaum, da leider nicht einmal im Märchen Arbeitgeber ihren Arbeitern dafür Lohn zahlen, damit sie zum eigenen Nutzen arbeiten. — Es kann m. E. nur ein Lapsus sein, aus dem ich keine weitgehenden Konklusionen in bezug auf die Kenntnisse des (Scherkal-) Ostjakischen Ganschows zu ziehen beabsichtige,

— daß sich *tüw ow* auf Haus beziehen soll, *ow* bedeutet nämlich, wie oben angegeben, ‘Tür’,

— daß sich *tüw ow* überhaupt auf etwas beziehen kann, Ganschow hätte nämlich entweder *tüw ow jetpetna* oder *tüw ow jetpet* schreiben müssen, weil *tüw ow* noch des Possessivsuffixes der 3. P. Sing. o d e r eines Nomens oder einer Postposition bedarf, das od. die das Possessivsuffix an sich hat; *jetpet(na)* ist also notwendig, weil es um „die Stelle vor der/seiner Tür“ geht und dieses Wort das unentbehrliche Possessivsuffix enthält. Dies ist nur damit zu erklären, daß das Possessivsuffix in den possessiven Konstruktionen mit Personalpronomen (als Possessivpronomen) in Prosatexten nicht zu

fehlen pflegt. So ist das von Ganschow ins Leben gerufene *tüw ow jetpə* (statt *tüw ow jetpet*) — das laut Ganschow sogar in der OstjChr. erscheinen sollte(!) — eine Fehlleistung („Meisterstück“ . . . ?), während seine andere Variante, die eigentlich dem Original entnommen ist, korrekt ist.

Die übrigen Anmerkungen Ganschows in der Begründung zu seiner — unleugbar nicht vollkommen tadellosen — Übersetzung ins Ostjakische sind wahrscheinlich richtig. Ich wiederhole: wahrscheinlich, ich würde ja nicht wagen — im Gegensatz zu Ganschow — etwas ins Ostjakische zu übertragen, da ich über die Kompetenz eines Muttersprachlers oder über die Gewandtheit der Praxis nicht verfügen kann.

So viel also über meine Fehldeutung und Ganschows Berichtigung!

Bevor sich Ganschow mit meiner Übersetzung befaßte, bezweifelte er, ob ich auf der Seite 281 (UAJb. NF 1) überhaupt Gegenmeinungen und Bemerkungen in bezug auf seine Studie vorgelegt hatte: „... ich kann beim besten Willen keinen gravierenden Widerspruch zwischen meinem Verfahren und Hontis Ansichten entdecken . . .“ Dies halte ich für etwas merkwürdig, ich habe ja unter den Punkten 1–5 versucht, manche Behauptungen Ganschows zu korrigieren, andere (richtige) Aussagen zu interpretieren, obwohl er als Verfasser selbst diese zuletzt genannte Aufgabe hätte leisten müssen, es ist nämlich zu erwarten, daß ein tatsächlich erfahrener Forscher, wenn er etwas in der von ihm untersuchten Sprache entdeckt, das bisher Unbekannte zu deuten versucht.

B) In den zwei letzten Absätzen seiner Schrift teilt Ganschow dem Leser seine Konklusionen mit, zu denen ich keinen Kommentar hinzufügen möchte. Ich habe nur eine Frage an Professor Ganschow (wenn er immer noch der Meinung ist, daß gerade er derjenige hätte sein sollen, der mir eine hervorragende Kenntnis des Ostjakischen hätte beibringen können):

Würden alle Personen, die ostjakische Sätze mißverstehen und fehldeuten, an dem „hilfreichen“ Unterricht von ihm (den er „selbstverständlich privatissime et gratis“ aus Nächstenliebe und Barmherzigkeit anbietet) teilnehmen müssen?

Wenn die Antwort eventuell bejahend wäre und sich die edle Geste nicht ausschließlich auf mich bezieht, möchte ich noch weitere Schüler (ältere Forscher, „erfahrene Fachkollegen“) für „zwei Semester“ in sein Münchener ostjakisches Seminar einschreiben lassen, z. B.

1) südostj. D *mun* [ɔ: ǔ] *χῶDδ̄ ǰəũəm tǰərDδ̄y, məjð məDēyət, nòt təyBà ən məDēyət* ‘was ist uns geschehen, unsere Panzerhemden, warum sollen wir sie geben, den Pfeil — er auch —, wir geben sie nicht’ (MSFOu. 157: 5) — (korrigiert von mir:) *mǝχ̣ χῶDδ̄ ǰəũəm tǰərDδ̄y məjð məDēyət, nòt təyBà ən məDēyət* ‘warum sollen wir unsere irgendwie gewordenen Panzerhemden geben, wir geben auch unsere Pfeile nicht’.

2) ostostj. V *awəl* ‘the region, place of something’ (Eastern Ostyak Chrestomathy. Bloomington 1966, UAS 51, 170), *sünk awəl torâm pelək* ‘the quarter of sky where sun [is]’ (op. cit. S. 135, 154) — korrigiert von Wolfgang Steinitz (DEWOS 233): „Das Wort ist falsch rekonstruiert . . . *sünk awəl torâm pelək* ‘Himmels-Gegend, wo die Sonne (ist)’ . . . = *sünkə wäl’ t. p. (wäl’ < wälə, Partiz. Präs.)* [‘zur Sonne seiende H. – G.’]“.

3) Scherkal-ostj. *nǎŋ nǝχ̣en tapat tüwəŋ tapat ǝtəs* ‘du schliefest eine Knochenwoche (lang)’ (erschlossen von Ganschow [!]: Schlachter-Festschr. 104) — richtig soll es heißen: *nǎŋ . . . ǝtsən . . .*

*

Zum Schluß möchte ich noch bemerken, daß sich Ganschow durch seine Tonart, die sich bisher in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften noch nicht eingebürgert hat, von weiteren Diskussionen selbstverständlich automatisch ausgeschlossen hat.

L. Honti

CRITICA

A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei III.
Hauptredakteur György Lakó, Redakteure
Károly Rédei und Éva K. Sal, Mitarbeiter
István Erdélyi, Ferenc Fabricius-Kovács,
János Gulya, Éva K. Sal, Edit Vértes.
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1978, 266 S.

Der Fortsetzungsband der ersten beiden Bände (erschienen 1967 bzw. 1971) enthält die Etymologien jener ungarischen Wörter finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft, die mit den Buchstaben N–Zs beginnen. Im Vergleich mit den ersten Bänden muß erwähnt werden, daß die Zahl der Redakteure mit Éva K. Sal auf zwei erhöht wurde.

Rez. hat auch die ersten Bände seinerzeit besprochen (vgl. NyK 70 [1968] 449–451; ALH 20 [1970] 214–219; NyK 74 [1972] 454–456; ALH 24 [1974] 401–404). Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen wurden eher im Zusammenhang mit dem I. Band gemacht, die jetzt in der Distanz eines Jahrzehnts (nun mit Gültigkeit auf alle drei Bände) kurz zusammengefaßt werden.

Die Mitarbeiter versuchten von Beginn an nicht nur die schon bestehenden Etymologien zusammenfassen, sondern sie schufen im Wörterbuch eine Reihe neuer Etymologien.

Die Feststellungen erscheinen im Wörterbuch nicht bloß affirmativ, sondern eher spekulativ, demonstrativ, die Ergebnisse reflektieren den Verlauf der Diskussion und werden auch für alle entsprechenden Teilprobleme dargestellt, die Forschungsergebnisse werden schließlich mittels einer

rekonstruierten Form kompakt abgeschlossen.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem I. Band wurde versucht, das MSzFE mit dem hervorragenden finnischen etymologischen Wörterbuch [SKES] zu vergleichen. Das SKES ist strenger, oft bleiben beachtenswerte Wortzusammenstellungen unerwähnt, und nur äußerst selten wird die Möglichkeit alternativer Etymologien zugelassen. Ohne Zweifel erscheint demnach das Werk dem Leser bedeutend abgeschlossener und exakter. Das MSzFE hingegen, indem es nicht darauf aus ist, alle Probleme unbedingt zu lösen, sondern neben den sicheren Etymologien auch unsichere bzw. wahrscheinliche Etymologien unterscheidet, ist den zukünftigen Forschungen nützlicher. Nebenbei gibt es nicht wenig ungarische Wörter mit sozusagen gleichwahrscheinlichen finnisch-ugrischen, türkischen, slawischen usw. Etymologien. Diese Auffassung reflektiert die Forschungen im Verlauf der Diskussion.

Im Wörterbuch werden nicht nur die finnisch-ugrischen Wörter des ungarischen Wortschatzes behandelt, sondern auch jene Kasus- bzw. Ableitungssuffixe, die aus selbständigen Grundwörtern morphologisiert wurden und deren Grundwörter nur in den verwandten Sprachen nachweisbar sind. Hierher gehört das Dativsuffix *-nak*, *-nek*, das Instrumentalsuffix *-val*, *-vel* und das Ableitungssuffix *-ség*, *-ság* (*-szág*).

Bei der Rekonstruktion der Grundformen wirkten die strittigen Punkte des

finnisch-ugrischen Vokalismus störend. So werden z. B. beim ung. Wort *nyíl* 'Pfeil' den verschiedenen Auffassungen zufolge drei uralische Grundformen: **ñōle* (**ñole*) und **ñgle* angegeben.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Wortschatz der einzelnen uralischen Sprachen treten einige objektive Hindernisse auf, die die Arbeit der Verfasser erschwerten; es fehlt ein entsprechendes mordwinisches Wörterbuch, das umfangreiche tscheremissische Dialektwörterbuch von Ödön Beke ist auch noch nicht erschienen, der wogulische und wotjakische Wortschatz ist ebenfalls nicht genügend erforscht. Diese objektiven Schwierigkeiten wirkten sich natürlich auf die Arbeit am Wörterbuch aus. Wie bereits bei der Besprechung des I. Bandes festgestellt wurde, stellt die bis jetzt ungenügende Kenntnis der bulgarisch-türkischen, tschuwassischen, tscheremissischen und wotjakischen gegenseitigen sprachlichen Wechselwirkungen ebenfalls einen störenden Faktor dar. Dies kann durch einige Bemerkungen illustriert werden, die sich — um im Spezialgebiet des Rez. zu bleiben — auf tscheremissische Daten beziehen.

Als fragliche Entsprechung für ung. *nyír* 1. 'Birke; *betula*', 2. N. 'junger Schößling' wird im Wörterbuch tscher. (Szil.) *nörya* 'Nachwuchs, Schößling', *nöryä* 'Zweig', (Ramst.) *nöryä* 'der junge Baum (einjährig)' zitiert.

Es folgt die Anmerkung: "— Ob die tscheremissischen und samojedischen Wörter hierhergehören ist wegen dem inlaut. *-rk-* unsicher."

Für das fragliche tscheremissische Wort sind im handschriftlichen Wörterbuch Bekes folgende Angaben zu finden: P B BJ M MM UJ CÜ JT *nöryö*, MK *nöryö*, USj. *nöryä*, K *nöryä* 1. 'zerbrechlich, biegsam, schwach'; 2. 'Knorpel, einjähriger Trieb, Ast, Baum; mild (Wetter)'.

Bei diesem tscher. Wort ist es nicht notwendig, eine Konsonantenverbindung *-rk-* anzunehmen, weil das Wort eine Ableitung von der Form (Beke) P M UJ C Č JT *nörö*, UP *nörä*, JO JP *nörü*, V *nörö*,

K *nörä* 1. 'biegsam, formbar (Bast, Gerte, Leder, Wachs, Eisen)'; 2. 'schwach (Knochen, Säugling)'; 3. 'zäh (Teig)'; 4. 'zerbrechlich (Baum, Eis, Eisen)'; 5. 'mild (Wetter); feucht (Schnee)' ist.

Die nichtabgeleitete Form dieses Wortes entspricht lautlich dem ung. Wort und den übrigen Wörtern der verwandten Sprachen besser; die primäre Bedeutung des tscher. Wortes ist 'biegsam, zerbrechlich', die Bedeutung 'Gerte' scheint sekundär zu sein. Wenn noch die Formen (Beke) B *nörök*, CÜ CK Č JT *nöräk* 'feucht (Wetter)'; P B M MK USj. UJ C Č J V K *nörem*, UP *nörem* 'naß werden, feucht werden' herangezogen werden, wird eher die Zusammengehörigkeit mit ung. *nyírok* 'Feuchtigkeit' bestätigt. Unter Berücksichtigung der Wirkung des anlautenden *n* und des inlautenden *r* konnte der Vokal der ersten Silbe in den tscher. Wörtern sowohl velar als auch palatal sein.

Das *n* der Form UP *nörem* kann sekundär sein.

Als fragliche Entsprechung für ung. *ördög* 'Teufel' wird im Wörterbuch tscher. (Wichm.) J *šart*, U *širt* 'böser Geist, Teufel, teuflisch (J), böser Geist, der Krankheiten verursacht (U)' zitiert. Das Wort ist auch im Tschuwassischen vorhanden, Ašmarin kennt es in der Form und Bedeutung *širt* 'название божества; место для жертвоприношения'. Es kann jedoch nicht die Quelle des tscher. Wortes sein, da in diesem Fall im U-Dialekt des Tscher. der Vokal *u* sein müßte. Die umgekehrte Richtung der Entlehnung ist jedoch möglich, obwohl die Bedeutung des tschuwassischen Wortes teilweise abweicht.

Das größte lautliche Hindernis für die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser ung. bzw. tscher. Wörter ist die Tatsache, daß im Tscher. im Erbwortschatz und sogar noch in den iranischen Lehnwörtern *-rt* auslautend nicht zugelassen war (vgl. NyK 79: 59).

Das tscher. Wort ist sicherlich eine Entlehnung des tat. *širt* 'место, где человек заболевает-поверье' (Диалектологический словарь татарского языка. Казань 1969).

Das mit ung. *sápad* 'erblassen, erbleichen, blaß od. bleich' zusammengestellte tscher. Wort (Wichm.) *М šapî* 'blaß, bleich, farblos, totenblaß; verblichen, verschossen; (PS) *šopalye* 'blaß, hell' usw. ist auch im Tschuwassischen vorhanden, vgl. (Ašm.) *šupka, šopka* 'беловатый, бледный, полинялый (выцветший)'. Die entfernteren türkischen Verbindungen des tschuwassischen Wortes kennt Rez. nicht, da jedoch Ašmarin das Wort aus dem gesamten tschuwassischen Sprachgebiet zitiert ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß das fragliche Wort im Tscher. ein tschuwassisches Lehnwort ist.

Die fragliche Entsprechung (Wichm.) *U šol: kit-šol* 'Armband'; (PS) *kit-šol* 'Armring' (*kit* 'Hand') für ung. *szalag* 'Band, Streifen' ist auch im Tschuwassischen vorhanden, worauf auch Räsänen verweist (SUST 48, 261), die Richtung der Entlehnung kann Räsänen jedoch nicht entscheiden. Ašmarin zitiert auch dieses Wort aus einem ausgedehnten Sprachgebiet und der erweiterte Bedeutungskreis des tschuwassischen Wortes (es bezeichnet auch den Körperteil) zeigt an, daß das Tscheremissische die übernehmende Sprache ist. Wenn das tscheremissische Wort die Entsprechung des ungarischen Wortes wäre, müßte anlautend finnisch-ugrisches *š angenommen werden, welches im Tscher. noch vor den tschuwassischen Lehnbeziehungen zu š wurde; im Tschuwassischen lautet das Wort jedoch *sulš, solš*, die Etymologie ist also unbedingt falsch.

Das als unsichere Entsprechung für ung. *szil* (*szilok*) N. 'schneiden, spalten, schnitzen, hobeln' zitierte tscher. Verb (Wichm.) *KB U šulam* 'schneiden (KB U); kastrieren (KB)' kann nicht mit dem ung. Wort zusammengehören, da es eine mit dem Momentansuffix *l* abgeleitete Form des Grundwortes (Beke) *P B BJ Bjp. M UP UJ CÜ ČN J V K šuam, MK UP USj. US š'am* 'farag, vagdal' ist. Beke zitiert es auch in diesem Sinne in seinem Wörterbuch.

Im tscher. Wort (Wichm.) *KB šəyə, JU šüwö, M süyö*, das als Entsprechung für ung. *szű* 'Borkenkäfer, Holzwurm' er-

scheint, kann anlautend kein ursprüngliches š angenommen werden, da es auch im M-Dialekt zu š geworden wäre; auch die Form Beke CK *šüyö* entscheidet für ursprüngliches *č.

Die Zusammenstellung des tscher. Wortes mit dem ungarischen wäre nur dann möglich, wenn im Tscher. in der ersten Silbe der Lautwandel *u > ü* eingetreten wäre. Die Form (des Wortes *šüyö*) Vasiljev *siya* entscheidet für ursprüngliches *i*. In diesem Fall ist das tscheremissische Wort kein finnisch-ugrisches Erbwort sondern eine Entlehnung des permischen Wortes *-čej*. Zur Zeit der Entlehnung muß der inlautende Konsonant im Permischen noch *ɣ* gewesen sein. Im Tscher. lautet die Fortsetzung des finnisch-ugrischen inlautenden **k* in Wörtern mit Palatalvokal *j* bzw. mit Lautschwund in einigen Dialekten.

Diese Bemerkungen zeigen, daß im Bereich der uralischen etymologischen Forschungen noch viel Arbeit ansteht. Das in jahrzehntelanger Arbeit verfertigte MSzFE enthält eine so außerordentliche Fülle an Daten und Interpretationen, daß es lange Zeit hindurch ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel und auch Anregung für die etymologischen Forschungen sein wird.

G. Bereczki

Paul Diderichsen: Rasmus Rask und die grammatische Tradition. Internationale Bibliothek für allgemeine Linguistik, herausgegeben von Eugenio Coseriu Band 33 Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1976, 181 S.

Paul Diderichsens Buch „Rasmus Rask og den grammatiske tradition“ (veröffentlicht in: Historiskfilosofiske Meddelelser, udgivet av Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Bind 38, Nr. 2., 1960), das hier in deutscher Übersetzung vorliegt, ist ein bedeutender Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft. Wie schon im Untertitel darauf hingewiesen wird, handelt es sich um eine „Studie über den Wendepunkt in der Sprachgeschichte“,

d. h. um die Bedeutung eines der Begründer der vergleichenden und historischen Sprachwissenschaft, des dänischen Linguisten Rasmus Rask (1787—1832). Der Verfasser stellt uns das Leben und Werk von Rask, seine Entwicklung als Sprachforscher vor. Das Werk, das Louis Hjelmslev zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet ist, enthält eine Fülle neuen Materials, das Rasmus Rasks Entwicklung und seine Abhängigkeit von Lehrern und Vorgängern (Adelung, Wachter u. a.) beleuchtet, sowie eine Charakteristik seiner Sprachauffassung, die im letzten Kapitel der Deutung von Louis Hjelmslev, dem Lehrer und Freund des Verfassers, gegenübergestellt wird. Die Inspiration zu diesen Studien verdankt er Louis Hjelmslev, der in den Jahren nach 1930 Rasks ausgewählte Abhandlungen herausgab und in Vorlesungen und Vorträgen eine neue Grundauffassung von dessen Leben und Werk skizzierte. Im Jahre 1951 veröffentlichte Hjelmslev zum erstenmal eine gesammelte Darstellung seiner neuen Rask-Deutung, stark vereinfacht und in einer radikal zugespitzten Weise. Diese „Commentaires sur la vie et l'œuvre de Rasmus Rask“ veranlaßten Marie Bjerrum, den Versuch zu unternehmen, Rasks Abhandlungen über die dänische Sprache im Lichte von Hjelmslevs Deutung zu analysieren. Ihre Habilitations-Abhandlung bildet den Ausgangspunkt und die Grundlage für die hier von Paul Diderichsen vorgelegten Studien. „Marie Bjerrum hatte nachgewiesen, daß die meisten von Rasks Ideen bereits in dem Entwurf aus seiner Schulzeit und seinen ersten Studienjahren skizziert waren, und für mich lag es deshalb nahe, zunächst die Bücher zu untersuchen, von denen man mit mehr oder weniger großer Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen konnte, daß er sie in der Schule gelesen hatte, sowie die Methoden und Auffassungen seiner Lehrer ausfindig zu machen. Dies ließ mich sofort erkennen, welchen direkten Einfluß auf Rasks Sprachauffassung die griechischen und dänischen Lehrbücher von Søren Bloch gehabt haben. Außerdem fanden sich bei seinen anderen Lehrern,

sowohl bei denen in den Sprachfächern (Heiberg, Suhr) wie bei seinem Geschichtslehrer (Trojel) und den Lehrern in den Naturkundefächern (Degen und Bjørn), Anschauungen, die für seinen geistigen Horizont von Bedeutung waren. Von hier aus war es nicht schwierig, weiter zu den Gestalten im Europa des 18. Jahrhunderts vorzudringen, deren Grundgedanken den Rahmen für Rasks wissenschaftliche Arbeit bilden (Wachter, Hemsterhuis-Trendelenburg, Adelung); auch Ideen der größten zeitgenössischen Naturforscher (Cuvier und Lamarck) scheinen in seine Schulbildung einzugehen. Diese historischen Untersuchungen mußten unumgänglich ein neues Licht auf Rasks Ausdrucksform und Denkweise werfen und ermöglichten es, mit größerer Genauigkeit zu bestimmen, was bei ihm neu und für ihn eigentümlich war.“ — bekennt der Verfasser im Vorwort (9). Dieses Buch besteht aus 7 Kapiteln mit sehr ausführlichen Anmerkungen und einem umfassenden Register und Literaturverzeichnis, die das Verständnis der einzelnen Fragen erleichtern und dem Werk den Charakter einer Vollkommenheit verleihen. Wir wollen gleich am Anfang die Verdienste Paul Diderichsens hervorheben, der nicht nur eine fast vollkommene Abhandlung über das Leben und Werk, über die geistige Entwicklung eines so bedeutenden und umstrittenen Linguisten wie Rasmus Rask geschaffen hat, sondern auch seinen Mut, an seinen Vorgängern Kritik zu üben. Nachdem er über die Quellen zum Thema „Rasmus Rask und seine Lehrer“ — hier muß Holger Pedersen erwähnt werden, der in seiner Einleitung zur Ausgabe von Rasks „Udvalgte Afhandlinger“ [Ausgewählte Abhandlungen] sehr vorsichtig sagt: „Man kann sich kaum der Vermutung erwehren (die natürlich jedoch nur eine Vermutung ist), Rask habe sich seine Meinung über Sprachverwandtschaft auf der Schulbank gebildet“ —, über die Jahre in der Odenser Kathedralschule und über Rasks Lehrer und über seinen Bildungsgang schreibt — worüber oben gesprochen

wurde —, macht er uns mit Rasks erstem Interesse bekannt, daß der Geschichte galt. Das Geschichtsstudium führte ihm zum Studium des Altnordischen. Rasks gesamte Grundanschauung über das Isländische und mehrere der Hauptthemen in seiner Auffassung sind hier mit genau den gleichen Wendungen ausgedrückt, die Rask unermüdet sein ganzes Leben lang wiederholte:

„Daß Leute, die die gleiche Sprache — oder mit wenigen Unterschieden die gleiche Sprache — sprechen, ein und denselben Ursprung gehabt haben, ist höchst wahrscheinlich; je weiter wir mit unserer Kenntnis von den Sprachen in der Zeit zurückgehen und sie untereinander vergleichen können, desto besser sind wir mit unserer auch imstande, ihre Verwandtschaft oder ihre Genealogie zu bestimmen. Die älteste allgemeine Sprache, die hier im Norden gesprochen wird und von der wir noch wissen, ist das Isländische, das noch in Island gesprochen wird, obgleich mit Veränderung. In dieser Sprache ist die beste Geschichte geschrieben, nämlich Snorros Chronik.“ (34). Seine sprachlichen Interessen erwachen erst allmählich. Es kann kein Zweifel darüber herrschen, daß gerade Blochs Unterricht im Griechischen und Dänischen ihn in die Methode und Probleme der Sprachwissenschaft eingeführt hat. Obgleich Rask am meisten innerhalb der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft geleistet hat, besaß er ein ständig ebenso brennendes philologisch-historisches Interesse für alle Aspekte des nordischen Altertums, und einen sehr wesentlichen Teil seiner Zeit verwandte er auf Ausgaben, Übersetzungen, Deutungen (von Runensteinen) usw. Auch seine romantische Begeisterung für das Idealbild, das er sich von unseren nordischen Vätern gemacht hatte, kühlte keineswegs ab, als er sich tiefer in die realistische Menschenschilderung der Sagas einlebte. Das Tagebuch und die Briefe über seine Studien und Interessen während der letzten Jahre zeugen entscheidend gegen Hjelmslevs Behauptung, er habe nach 1824 die Philologie und die Geschichte aufgegeben, um Linguist zu werden. Im

folgenden werden die Fragen der Wortbildung und Spracherklärung bei Rask eingehend behandelt. Man hat jedoch nicht beachtet, daß Rask in seiner ganzen Methode, in seiner Grundauffassung der Sprachentwicklung und in seiner grammatischen Systematik auf Søren Nic. Joh. Bloh's *Det Graeske Sprogs Grammatik*, aldeles fra ny af bearbejdet (Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, völlig neu bearbeitet) zurückgegriffen hatte. Als Grundlage zu seinen Studien auf diesem Gebiet diente das griechische Konjugationssystem vom *Hensterhuis* — Bloch. Wie Bloch die griechische mit der lateinischen, so vergleicht Rask die isländische mit der deutschen Grammatik. Er stellt (wie Bloch) „Wohlklangsregeln“ zur „Erklärung“ der Fälle auf, in denen Buchstabenveränderungen durch das Zusammenstoßen von Stamm und Endung eintreten; und das Isländische wird gepriesen für seine „bequeme Möglichkeit der Wortbildung“, ganz wie das Griechische bei Bloch. Die Argumentation ist bei beiden die gleiche: die Schwierigkeit, griechische bzw. isländische Zusammensetzungen oder Ableitungen ins Dänische oder Deutsche zu übersetzen.

In der Aufstellung der Deklinationen und Konjugationen lag das Isländische so weit vom Griechischen entfernt, daß Rask Bloch nicht folgen konnte. Sein Ausgangspunkt sind hier Adelungs deutsche Sprachlehre und verschiedene dänische und schwedische. Im folgenden Kapitel werden wir jedoch sehen, wie Rask versucht, das griechische System auf daß Lateinische, Germanische und die übrigen indoeuropäischen Sprachen zu übertragen, und dadurch die „Grundeinheit“ findet, die für ihn identisch ist mit genealogischer Verwandtschaft.

In zwei kleinen Abhandlungen aus Rasks Schulzeit (1806) findet man unzweifelhafte Spuren von Wachters, Meiners und Adelungs Gedanken über die Entwicklung der Sprache und die Methode der Etymologie; Diese bilden also den Ausgangspunkt für Rasks Sprachdenken, und „deren Grundgedanken scheint er niemals

einer kritischen Revision unterzogen zu haben“ (45). Die Aufstellung des indoeuropäischen Beugungssystems bildet den Kern von Rasks Lebenswerk. Der Keim für das ganze System liegt in der Beobachtung, daß der Gegensatz zwischen starken und schwachen Verben allen germanischen Sprachen gemeinsam ist und daß sich auch die Deklinationen im Germanischen wie in anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen in zwei symmetrischen Reihen aufstellen, stellt er fest, daß die einfachste Teilung, die Dichotomie, das fundamentale strukturelle Prinzip ist. „Von dieser Erkenntnis aus versucht Rask, überall die Sprachsysteme auf die einfachst möglichen Denkformen zu reduzieren: Symmetrie oder Parallelismus, Aufsteigen von Einfachen zum Zusammengesetzteren, vom Selbstständigen oder Vorausgesetzten zum Unselbstständigen oder Vorauszusetzenden. Es war der Triumph seines Lebens, daß es ihm in einer Reihe von Fällen gelang zu konstatieren, daß solche rationalen Züge innerhalb einer Sprachgruppe durchgängig vorhanden waren: der Parallelismus zwischen einer grammatisch funktionalen und der physiologischen Ordnung der Vokale, zwischen der Ableitungsordnung von Endungen (Formen) und Begriffen (z. B. Kasus), zwischen Stammauslaut und Endung, zwischen struktureller Hierarchie und chronologisch-genetischer Reihenfolge. Wahrlich, das Vernünftige war das Wirkliche, Natur und Geist, System und historische Entwicklung waren eins.“ (66).

Durch seine Analyse der isländischen Verbalbeugung gelangt Rask also zu einer klaren Sonderung von „Hauptverschiedenheiten“ und „Unterverschiedenheiten“: „Bei der Bestimmung der Haupteinteilung kommt es nicht auf die Anzahl der Silben und auch nicht auf die verschiedenen Selbstlaute an; nur die Endungen geben hier den Ausschlag“. Man darf deshalb nur von verschiedenen Konjugationen oder Veränderungsweisen sprechen, wenn verschiedene Gruppen von Endungen vorliegen, während die Unterschiede, die auf der Form des Stammes, auf Wohlklangs-

regeln und Vokalwechsel in der Wurzel beruhen, nur zum Aufstellen von „Unterklassen“ verwendet werden können. In „Preisschrift“, d. h. „Undersogelse om Det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse. Et af det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab kronet Prisskrift“ (eingereicht 1814, hrsg. 1818), Rasks Hauptwerk, wird dieses System auf sinnreiche Weise erweitert. Rask hat nun erkannt, daß sich auch die Deklinationen im Isländischen (sowie im Griechischen und Lateinischen) in zwei Haupttypen teilen lassen, einen einfacheren und einen künstlerischeren. Da sie jedoch keine gemeinsamen Endungen haben, kann man sie nicht Beugungsweisen nennen, sondern sie erhalten die Bezeichnung „Hauptarten oder Systeme“ von Beugungsweisen. Wir erhalten also drei Stufen: „Hauptarten“ oder „Systeme“ (die Beugungsweisen mit gewissen gemeinsamen Strukturzügen zusammenfassen), Beugungsweisen (die Wörter mit im wesentlichen gleichen Endungen zusammenfassen) und Klassen innerhalb der letzteren, die nach dem Stammauslaut oder dem Vokalwechsel eingeteilt werden.

Im vierten Kapitel des Buches wird uns Rasks Auffassung über das Vokalsystem und über die Buchstabenübergänge dargestellt. Obgleich Rask in den meisten orthographischen Streitfragen Blochs Gegner war, ist seine Grundauffassung vom Ausdruckssystem der Sprache in wesentlichen Punkten von der Tradition geprägt, mit der er zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1805 durch die Rechtschreibungslehre seines Dänischlehrers bekannt wurde.

Da man das Verständnis von der Bedeutung der Lautgesetze für den Nachweis von Sprachverwandtschaft zu Rasks größten Verdiensten gerechnet hat, dürfte es angebracht sein, daran zu erinnern, daß die „Buchstabenübergänge“ für Rask immer nur ein sekundäres Argument für den Nachweis von Ähnlichkeit oder „Grundeinheit“ in den Sprachen waren. Das geht am deutlichsten aus dem Abschnitt in „Prisskr.“ hervor, den Rask selbst als die Krönung des Werkes betrachtete: nämlich dem

Nachweis der Grundeinheit im Griechischen und Isländischen. Als den ersten und wichtigsten Beweis bespricht Rask die Aussprache im Griechischen und Neuisländischen und meint, dadurch nachweisen zu können, daß „die Aussprache und der ganze Klang im Griechischen und Isländischen weitgehend übereinstimmen, ebenso wie auch Selbstlaute, Zwielaute und Mitlaute, nach der richtigen Aussprache, in beiden Sprachen ungefähr die gleichen sind“ (75).

Das Kapitel über die Einteilung der Sprachlehre und der Sprachwissenschaft gehört zu den weniger bedeutenden Themen in Rasks Werk. Der Ausgangspunkt Rasks zu einer wohlbegründeten inhaltlichen Einteilung und Ordnung der Grammatik ist auch hier wieder Blochs griechische Grammatik. Darin befindet sich statt der Dreiteilung der älteren Grammatik in Orthographie, Etymologie und Syntax eine Zweiteilung in Formenlehre und Syntax. Danach spricht er über die „Aussicht über den gesamten Kreis der Sprachwissenschaften“. Das Hauptproblem in der neuen Syntax, die Rask hier skizziert, ist das Verhältnis zwischen den drei Formenn der Sprachbetrachtung. Er nennt sie „Sprachlehre“, „Spracherklärung“ (oder „Etymologie“) und „philosophische Grammatik“ (oder „Philosophie der Sprache“), was man im Dänischen „Sprachforschung“ zu nennen pflegt. Das Verhältnis wird dadurch kompliziert, daß er sich eine jede dieser Disziplinen wiederum in eine „allgemeine“ oder „betrachtende“ (theoretische) und eine „besondere“ oder „angewandte“ geteilt denkt.

Im sechsten Kapitel wird das Thema „Kultur und Natur“ behandelt, innerhalb dessen die Fragen: Sprachen bilden sich aus und verfallen, vom Ursprung der Sprachen, die Natur der Sprache und natürliche Sprache, normative und deskriptive Grammatik, Philosophie der Sprache, mechanisch und organisch, Entwicklung und System in Sprach- und Naturwissenschaft. Das Verhältnis zwischen Kultur und Natur bildet eine Grund-

thema im Geistesleben des 18. Jahrhunderts. Auch in Rasks Sprachauffassung ist dieser Gegensatz ein wesentlicher Zug, obgleich er in der vergleichenden Methodik, die sein Hauptwerk wurde, eine geringere Rolle spielt. Namentlich seine theoretische Ausdrucksform ist von Anrufungen der Natur durchweht, und in der Umdeutung, die das Ziel der Grammatik durch seine und Grimms Werke erfuhr, spielte der Naturbegriff eine zentrale Rolle.

Das letzte Kapitel „Rask und die Sprachgeschichte“, enthält eine Diskussion zwischen Vilh. Thomsen, Holger Petersen und Sverdrup, Louis Hjelmslevs „Commentaires“ und eine Konklusion, der „Wendepunkt“. Bereits N. M. Petersen sah deutlich, daß Rask eher Systematiker als Historiker war, und die meisten von denen, die sich später mit Rask beschäftigt haben, erkannten ebenfalls, daß dies seine beherrschende Eigenschaft war, wenn man ihn mit den beiden anderen Begründern der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, Franz Bopp und Jacob Grimm verglich. Das Thema wird in Vilh. Thomssens Artikel zu Rasks hundertjährigem Geburtstag (1887) angeschlagen und in „Sprogvidenskabens Historie“ (1902) weiter entwickelt. Hier werden die Rollen so verteilt, daß Bopp das Schwergewicht auf „die genetische Seite der Sprachentwicklung“ legt, „den ersten Ursprung der Sprachformen zu finden sucht“, während „Grimms Verdienst im wesentlichen darin besteht, den Anstoß zur historischen Grammatik gegeben zu haben, welche das historische Verhältnis zwischen den Formen der verwandten Sprachen durch die verschiedenen Dialekte hindurch verfolgt und erhellt“ (133).

Gegenüber diesen beiden wird Rask als der Systematiker charakterisiert. Louis Hjelmslev hat in seinen „Commentaires“ Rask in entschieden radikaler Weise im Gegensatz zu seinen Zeitgenossen und seinen Nachfolgern sehen wollen. Völlig überzeugend in all seiner Einfachheit ist der Grundgedanke in Hjelmslevs Neudeutung von Rasks Leben und Werk: Das

Ziel, welches er sich von seiner frühesten Jugend an gesetzt hatte und auf das er sich immer mehr konzentrierte, war eine vergleichende, nach genau derselben Methode ausgearbeitete Grammatik über alle bekannten Sprachen. Man kann die vielen vollendeten und unvollendeten „Sprachlehren“ über alle möglichen Sprachen, die er hinterlassen hat, von einer immanenten Betrachtungsweise her deshalb nicht als periphere Studien behandeln. Sie sind die Essenz seines Lebenswerkes, ungeachtet des geringen Einflusses, die sie auf die weitere Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft gehabt haben. Diesen Behauptungen widerspricht jedoch Paul Diderichsen, der am Ende dieses Buches die Frage stellt: „Ist es wirklich der Rask der letzten Jahre, den Hjelmslev als den eigentlichen, den reifen Rask darstellen will, als den großen verkannten Systematiker, den genialen Vorläufer für den Strukturalismus der Gegenwart?“ (148). In der Konklusion, „der Wendepunkt“, stellen wir folgendes fest: In den gängigen Darstellungen der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft erhält man den Eindruck, die vergleichende und historische Sprachwissenschaft sei plötzlich, ohne Vorbereitung und als ein eklatanter Bruch mit aller älteren Grammatik und Etymologie entstanden. Hjelmslev unterstreicht jedoch Rasks Verbindung zur Sprachforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts und will die entscheidende Trennungslinie zwischen Rask und Grimm ziehen. In der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft zeigt sich, daß die neuen Gedanken im 18. Jahrhundert gut vorbereitet waren, ja, daß nahezu alle die methodischen Prinzipien, die man Rask, Bopp und Grimm zugeschrieben hat, von Grammatikern und Etymologen geäußert worden sind, deren Werke sie mit ziemlicher Sicherheit gekannt haben. Hier zeichnet sich das Bild einer historischen Entwicklung ab, deren wichtigste Phasen und Faktoren sich mit ziemlich grosser Bestimmtheit festsetzen lassen. In seiner sprachwissenschaftlichen Entwicklung gehört Rasmus Rask in allen Hauptpunkten

mit Bopp und Grimm zusammen. Die Begeisterung für die alte Literatur machte sie alle in erster Linie zu Philologen, Textherausgebern und Übersetzern; die Arbeit an den Texten zwang sie zu einer detaillierten Analyse der Sprache und ihrer grammatischen Struktur. Bei der Aufstellung der Grammatik für die indische, die isländische, die angelsächsische und die altdeutsche Sprache empfangen sie einen starken Eindruck von der durchgängigen Strukturähnlichkeit und der allgemeinen Tendenz zur Reduktion von Beugungssystemen und zu analytischeren Ausdrücken, die bereits Adelung so klar dargestellt hatte (wenn auch mit gegensätzlicher Wertung). Die drei Arbeiten, die die neuere Sprachwissenschaft begründen, Rasks „Priskr.“ (1814, erschienen 1818), Bopps „Konjugationssystem“ (1816) und Grimms „Deutsche Grammatik“ (1819), sind alle vergleichende Flexionslehren, die von struktureller Einheit aus genealogische Verwandtschaft beweisen. „Das Programm der vergleichenden Morphologie entstand bei Rask innerhalb des Rahmens von Adelungs evolutionistischen und Wachters genealogischen Theorien. Rask führt diese mit überlegener Konsequenz und Klarheit weiter, es gelingt ihm jedoch nicht, sich von fundamentalen Schwächen in der Grundlage freizumachen. Die romantische Philosophie mit ihrem tiefen Sinn für das Individuelle, Lokale und Irrationale, für Tradition und Zusammenhang, verhilft Grimm dazu, sich von den Entwicklungskonstruktionen und Abstraktionstheorien des Rationalismus zu befreien. Das sind die beiden Hauptphasen in der Begründung der vergleichenden, genealogischen und historischen Linguistik“ (156).

N. Bradean-Ebinger

Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Turku 20—27. VIII. 1980

Der Gastgeber der seit 1960 organisierten Internationalen finnisch-ugrischen

Kongresse war bisher immer die Hauptstadt eines finnisch-ugrischen Volkes. (In 1960 und 1975 Budapest, in 1965 Helsinki, und in 1970 Tallinn). Diese Tradition wurde jetzt von unseren finnischen Kollegen zum Teil abgebrochen, in dem sie den fünften Kongress in Turku, in einer ehemaligen Hauptstadt veranstalteten.

Der Löwenanteil der Organisationsarbeit wurde vom Generalsekretär des Kongresses (M. K. Suojanen) und von den zwei Sekretären (Markku Aukia und Jorma Rakkolainen) unter Mithilfe des von Osmo Ikola geführten Organisationskomitees und des von Alho Alhoniemi geführten Arbeitsausschusses vollzogen.

Die Organisatoren sorgten dafür, daß das Programm des Kongresses nicht eintönig wird. Es wurden Ausstellungen und Ausflüge organisiert, ethnographische Filme vorgeführt und Besuche bei finnischen Familien ermöglicht.

Die von finnischen Schauspielern vorgeführte wogulische Theatervorstellung (Bärenfest) bedeutete ein besonderes Erlebnis. Der Ausflug am Wochenende in die Inselwelt von Ahvenanmas bereitete eine dreifache Überraschung. Die Teilnehmer wurden mit den Naturschönheiten der Inselwelt bekannt, lernten die besten Speisen der finnischen Kochkunst kennen und der Besuch der zu Finnland gehörenden doch schwedisch-sprachigen Inseln gewährte ihnen Einblick in die musterhafte und von vielen beneidete finnische Nationalitäten-Politik.

Nach gut bewährter Methode begann und endete der Kongreß mit Plenarsitzungen. In der Zwischenzeit beteiligten sich die Kongressteilnehmer an Sektionssitzungen und Symposia. Die fünf Plenarvorträge repräsentierten in würdiger Art die in beste Tradition der Finno-Ugristik/Uralistik. Lauri Posti befasste sich mit der Herkunft und Entwicklung der reflexiven Konjugation der baltisch-finnischen Sprachen. Er stellte fest, daß sich die heutigen baltisch-finnischen Sprachen in dieser Hinsicht bedeutend unterscheiden. Darum hat sich die reflexive Konjugation nur nach

der Trennung, nach Abbrechen der urfinnischen Epoche entwickeln können, usw. — nach seiner Meinung — unter russischem Einfluß. Dies wird durch die Tatsache unterstützt, daß es nur in denjenigen baltisch-finnischen Sprachen eine reflexive Konjugation gibt, die infolge ihrer geographischen Lage mit der russischen Sprache Kontakt gehabt haben können.

J. V. Bromley sprach über die Hierarchie der geschichtlich-kulturellen Gemeinschaften. Den dritten Vortrag des ersten Tages hielt Peter Hajdú unter dem Titel „Stilistisch motivierte und gattungsbedingte Änderungen in den uralischen Sprachen“. Die Schlußfolgerungen des mit vielen Beispielen illustrierten interessanten Vortrages könnte man folgendermaßen zusammenfassen: In der mündlichen und schriftlichen Dichtung kommen oft andere phonetische, morphologische und syntaktische Regeln zur Geltung, als in der Gemeinsprache. Diese können auch die allgemeine Entwicklung der Sprache beeinflussen, besonders dann, wenn die betreffende Sprache keine ausgebildete Normen besitzt. Diese Tatsache muß bei der Untersuchung der uralischen Sprachen berücksichtigt werden.

Am letzten Tag des Kongresses hielt Hans Fromm seinen Vortrag über die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Kalevala und Mikko Korhonen seinen Vortrag über die struktural-typologischen Strömungen (Drifts) in den uralischen Sprachen. Beide haben aktuelle und zur Diskussion geeignete Themen gewählt. Eben darum können wir nur bedauern, daß es keine Möglichkeit gab, die Vorträge der Plenarsitzungen zu diskutieren. Die Tatsache, daß man die Texte dieser Vorträge im voraus veröffentlichte, hätte eine besonders fruchtbringende Diskussion ermöglicht. Fromm untersucht die Auswirkungen des Kalevala innerhalb und außerhalb der Grenzen Finnlands, besonders aber in der deutschen Kultur. Er stellt fest, daß die Auswirkungen des Nationalepos das ganze Gebiet des Gesellschaftslebens erfassen. Dies muß bei den wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen berück-

sichtigt werden: die traditionellen Mittel der Literaturwissenschaft reichen hier nicht aus.

Die Sprachtypologie (Greenberg, Vennemann, usw.) scheint eine befruchtende Wirkung auf die Uralistik auszuüben. Dies beweist außer Korhons Vortrag die Arbeit von Katalin Radics, die ebenfalls sprachtypologische Prinzipien bei der Untersuchung von uralischen Sprachen verwendet. Es wird angenommen, daß die Sprachen während ihrer Entwicklung den Typus ihrer Wortfolge und demzufolge auch ihren strukturellen Typus zyklisch ändern. Also: SKV → TVX → SVX → (VXS) → SXV, resp. agglutinierend → flektierend → isolierend → agglutinierend. Korhonen ist der Meinung, daß diese zyklische Änderung die Entwicklung der Sprache regelt und versucht seine These auf die präuralische Zeitperiode anzuwenden. Er stellt fest, daß die präuralische Grundsprache von isolierendem Typus war. Er motiviert seine Annahme durch wohlbekannte Argumente: Agglutinierung der Personalpronomina zu Personalsuffixen, die Entwicklung der Adverbialsuffixe aus Postpositionen, das Fehlen von klaren Grenzen zwischen Wortarten. Da es — wie ich bereits erwähnte — keine Möglichkeit zur Diskussion gab, konnte man keine Antwort auf Fragen und Probleme erhalten, die im Laufe des Vortrages auftauchten.

Was die Sektionssitzungen anbelangt, es gaben acht Sektionen: 1. Phonologie und Morphologie, 2. Syntax und Semantik, 3. Lexikologie und Namenforschung, 4. Sonstige Sprachwissenschaft, 5. Ethnologie, 6. Folkloristik und Mythologie, 7. Archäologie und Physische Anthropologie, 8. Literatur.

Es ist unmöglich sämtliche Sektionsvorträge zu besprechen. Anstatt dessen möchte ich lieber einige allgemeine Bemerkungen machen.

Man hatte den Eindruck, daß allzu viele Vorträge sich mit Teilfragen befassen. Natürlich ist die Beschreibung und die Ausarbeitung der speziellen Teilprobleme der einzelnen Sprachen notwendig.

Doch sind nicht alle Vorträge, die speziellen Problemen gewidmet sind, für einen Kongreßvortrag geeignet. Einerseits zieht ein solcher Vortrag nur wenig Interessenten an, andererseits ist es wegen der Kürze der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit kaum möglich, die Probleme klar darzustellen.

Ich halte auch die Sektionseinteilung für nicht adäquat. Es wäre besser gewesen, die Sektionen laut Sprachen bzw. Sprachgruppen einzuteilen. Obzwar ich weiß, daß es gegen die von mir vorgeschlagene Einteilung schwerwiegende Argumente sprechen, möchte ich doch meinen Standpunkt verteidigen. In der Sektion für Phonologie und Morphologie fanden Vorträge über Probleme der syrjänischen, finnischen, karelischen, ungarischen, samojedischen, permischen und mordwinischen Phonetik statt. Die Zuhörerschaft tauschte sich beinahe nach jedem Vortrag völlig aus. Ich glaube, es ist verständlich, daß z. B. ein Forscher, der sich auf permische Sprachen spezialisierte, in erster Linie Vorträgen beiwohnt, die sich auf das Permische beziehen.

Die zwei erwähnten Faktoren (der spezielle Charakter der Vorträge und die immer wechselnde Zuhörerschaft) haben wahrscheinlich auch dazu geführt, daß sich während der Sektionssitzungen kaum eine Diskussion entfalten konnte.

Mehrere Vorträge setzten sich mit dem Problem der Verwandtschaft der uralischen Sprachen mit anderen Sprachfamilien auseinander. So ist die Frage der Verwandtschaft mit dem Japanischen, mit dem Eskimoischen, mit dem Drawidischen, mit den indoeuropäischen Sprachen, und sogar mit einigen kalifornischen Indianersprachen diskutiert worden. Obwohl man sich nicht im Vornhinein vor einem solchen Unternehmen verschließen darf, muß man hier doch mit größter Vorsicht vorgehen. Eine wohlklingende Verwandtschaftshypothese kann den Forscher derart verblenden, daß er leicht die Tatsachen überblickt, die gegen seiner Theorie sprechen. Da die Sprachen der Welt die gleiche Funk-

tion haben, und sie bei dem Aufbau ihrer Struktur nur aus einer begrenzten Anzahl von Elementen wählen können, ist es klar, daß wir bei beliebigen zwei Sprachen der Welt ähnliche Züge (sogar ähnliche Wörter) finden können, ohne daß es sich um verwandte Sprachen handeln würde.

Die Organisatoren des Kongresses haben wahrscheinlich vermutet, daß man mit der Entfaltung von spontanen Diskussionen nicht rechnen kann und haben deshalb Symposia organisiert mit folgenden Themen: 1.1. Vokalharmonie, 1.2. Produktivität und Nicht-Produktivität bei der Wortbildung 2.1. Nominalkonstruktionen in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen. 2.2. Existentialsätze. 3.1. Etymologie und Sprachgeographie besonders aus der Sicht des europäischen Sprach-Atlases. 4.1. Kernfragen der Zweisprachigkeit. 5.1. Fischerei bei den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern. 5.2. Haus und Familie. 6.1. Folkloristische Feldarbeit und Produktionsregeln der Überlieferung 7.1. Siedlungskontinuität in den Gebieten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker im Licht der Archäologie und Kulturwortschichtungen. 8.1. Volkstradition als Strukturelement in der Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Wie es auch aus dieser Aufzählung hervorgeht, wurden bedeutende und wichtige Fragen gewählt. Nicht alle Vorträge erfüllten jedoch die ihnen gegenüber gestellten Erwartungen. So trat sich z. B. die Mehrzahl des der Zweisprachigkeit gewidmeten Vorträge mit den soziolinguistischen Problemen der Zweisprachigkeit der Lappländer, der Finnen und der Baltfinnen befaßt. Da diese Vorträge die theoretischen Fragen der Zweisprachigkeit nur oberflächlich berührten, erweckten sie ein relativ geringes Interesse. Andere Vorträge beschäftigten sich mit den fremden Einwirkungen auf die einzelnen uralischen Sprachen. Diese unterschieden sich sowohl thematisch als auch methodisch von der Mehrzahl der Vorträge und man hätte sie vielleicht gar nicht in das Programm des Symposions aufnehmen sollen. Außerdem halte ich es für ungünstig, daß

die Symposion-Vorträge auch in den Sektionssitzungen vorgetragen worden sind. Dies war einerseits überflüssig, da diese Vorträge bereits vor dem Kongreß in Druck erschienen waren, andererseits wurde dadurch das sowieso überfüllte Programm des Kongresses noch mehr beladen.

Die Organisatoren haben sich außer den Symposia auch noch in einer anderen Neuerung versucht. Sie haben nämlich den Teilnehmern die Möglichkeit gegeben, sogenannte Demonstrationsvorträge zu halten. Die parallel laufenden Vorträge wirkten jedoch störend. Ein weiteres Problem bedeutete, daß sich unter den Vorträgen wenig solche befanden (wie z. B. der Vortrag von Alhoniemi und Ikola über die in Turku unternommen Datenverarbeitungen, oder der von Veenker über die einheitliche morphologische Beschreibung der uralischen Sprachen), die sich für eine solche Demonstration eigneten. Ein bedeutender Teil der Vorträge geriet wahrscheinlich nur mangels anderer Möglichkeit in diese Gruppe. Das Demonstrationsmaterial war nicht immer gut vorbereitet, weil die Autoren die Gesichtspunkte der Anschaulichkeit und der guten Sichtbarkeit nicht vor Augen hielten. Schließlich gab es aus Zeitmangel nicht immer Möglichkeit, zu die vorgetragenen Themen zu diskutieren. Trotz alldem glaube ich, daß man diese Vortragsart im Falle geeigneter Themen und entsprechender technischer Vorarbeitung, auch in der Zukunft anwenden kann.

Vier Bände aus dem Material des Kongresses (Pars I Plenumsvorträge, Pars II Referate der Sektions- und Symposionsvorträge, Pars III Symposionsvorträge der Sprachwissenschaft und Pars IV die der Ethnologie, Folkloristik, Archäologie, Anthropologie und Literatur) sind bereits im Sommer 1980 erscheinen und erleichtern somit bedeutend die Sache der Teilnehmer. Die Vorträge der Sektionssitzungen werden in weiteren vier Bänden erscheinen, hoffentlich nicht mit einer derartigen Verspätung wie das Material früherer finno-ugrischer Kongresse. Diese vier Bände haben wiederum bewiesen, daß man auch

mit dem Offset-Verfahren schöne, gut lesbare und handliche Bücher herstellen kann.

Der Kongreß hatte eine eigene Zeitung, die mit einer zauberhaften Schnelle über die frischesten Nachrichten berichtete. Es würde sich lohnen aus dieser Initiative eine Tradition zu schaffen.

Im Zusammenhang mit großen, repräsentativen Kongressen mit mehreren hundert Teilnehmern taucht immer die Frage auf: Hat es sich gelohnt? Ist der erreichte wissenschaftliche Nutzen in Proportion mit dem Aufwand an Zeit, Geld, Energie und wissenschaftlicher Kapazität? Man muß zugeben, daß auch im Verlauf dieses Kongresses keine, unsere Disziplin gründlich umformenden neuen Ergebnisse entstanden, doch die stattgefundenen Vorträge währten eine gute Übersicht über den aktuellen Stand der Uralistik und widerspiegelten zuverlässig die erreichten Resultate. Außerdem hat der Kongreß eine Möglichkeit zu persönlichen Begegnungen, zur Entfaltung und Auffrischung von Beziehungen bieten.

Der Auftritt der mehr als hundert ungarischen Teilnehmer widerspiegelte und repräsentierte würdig die zentrale Rolle, die Ungarn in den finnisch-ugrischen Wissenschaften spielt.

Meine kurze Besprechung möchte ich damit schließen — womit auch die Teilnehmer des Kongresses von einander Abschied nahmen: Auf Wiedersehen in 1985 in Siktivkar, in der Hauptstadt unserer syrjänischen Sprachverwandten.

S. Csúcs

Károly Rédei: Syrjänische Chrestomathie. (Studia Uralica 1) Wien 1978, 265 S; **Zyrian Folklore Texts.** (Bibliotheca Uralica 3) Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1978, 652 S.

1. Károly Rédei hat binnen kurzer Zeit zwei Bücher über die syrjänische Sprache veröffentlicht.

Das Ziel der Chrestomathie ist, dem Leser einen Überblick über die Sprache

zu gewähren. Das Buch wird dieser primären Aufgabe völlig gerecht, wie ich das in späteren zu zeigen versuchen werde.

Das Werk besteht aus vier Hauptteilen: der Einleitung (3–57), der Grammatik (58–130), den Texten (131–169) und dem Vokabular (170–215).

In der Einleitung bekommen wir vor allem eine kurze Übersicht über die Forschungsgeschichte der syrjänischen Sprache, danach folgt die umfangreiche Bibliographie (25 Seiten, etwa 700 Angaben (11–45)). Es sei jedoch vermerkt, daß das Literaturverzeichnis nicht vollständig ist. So fehlen z. B. Harms: Geschichte des permischen Imperativs aus generativer Sicht. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 70 [1968], 366–372; Erik Vászolyi: Die Spuren der uralischen -Ń Lativus Nachsilbe im Syrjänischen und Wotjakischen. Obwohl die Bibliographie im allgemeinen keine Rezensionen enthält, hätte der Verfasser doch in einigen Fällen eine Ausnahme machen müssen. Ich denke vor allem an folgende Besprechungen: Fokos's Besprechungen von Lytkin's: *Drevnepermskij jazyk und Dialektologičeskaja chrestomatija po permskim jazykam*. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 55 [1954], 270–285, NyK 57 [1956], 313–320 und Lytkin's Besprechung von Itkonens Vokalismus-theorie (In: *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* [1956] 3, 138–144) und Rédei's Besprechung von dem syrjänischen etymologischen Wörterbuch (In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* [1973], 75, 63–270). In diesen Fällen handelt es sich nicht um übliche Rezensionen, sondern um wichtige Beiträge zu den einschlägigen Themen.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Bibliographie tauchen auch einige Probleme technischer Natur auf. Die bibliographischen Daten sind manchmal mangelhaft, z. B. das Werk von Fokos: Syrjänische Texte ist in der Zeitschrift *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* erschienen, der Titel der Zeitschrift ist in der bibliographischen Angabe nicht angegeben, es wird lediglich auf die Nummer des Bandes hingewiesen. In derselben Angabe es steht die Abkürzung

FF, die aber im Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen nicht vorkommt. Auch einige andere Abkürzungen (13: Acta Soc. Scient. Fenn., 14: KSz., 43: RÉH, 65: SrSlk., 83: WUo) fehlen im Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen. Es wäre auch nützlich gewesen anzugeben wo und wann die Zeitschriften *Komi mu* und *Gora mu* erschienen bzw. erscheinen.

Der Autor transkribiert die zyrillischen Titel und Wörter (mit Ausnahme der syrjänischen literarischen Texte), doch gibt er nirgends Auskunft darüber, auf Grund welcher Prinzipien er das tat. Obzwar die von ihm verwendete Transkription verhältnismäßig einfach und konsequent ist, wäre eine Transkriptionstabelle hilfreich gewesen.

Der Bibliographie folgt die Beschreibung der syrjänischen Mundarten (46–53). Wir erfahren, daß der überwiegende Teil (85%) der 475.000 Syrjänen in der Komi Autonomen Republik bzw. im Komi-Permischen Nationaldistrikt lebt. Der Verfasser behandelt die wichtigsten phonetischen, morphologischen und lexikalischen Unterschiede zwischen den syrjänischen Mundarten, er bleibt uns aber mit der systematischen Aufzählung der syrjänischen Mundarten und deren Charakterisierung schuldig. Folgende Abkürzungen sind nicht erklärt: PO = ostpermisch, SU = untersysolisch, SM = mittelsysolisch, SO = obersysolisch.

Im nächsten Abschnitt beschreibt der Autor die Entfaltung und Entwicklung der komi-syrjänischen und der komi-permischen Literatursprache sowie des komi-syrjänischen und komi-permischen Schrifttums. Das syrjänische Schrifttum entfaltet sich bereits im 14. Jahrhundert, über die syrjänische Literatursprache im 18. Jahrhundert berichten religiöse Werke, aber erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erschienen Publikationen in syrjänischer Sprache in größerer Anzahl. Letztere können als unmittelbare Vorläufer der heutigen literarischen Sprache betrachtet werden.

Die syrjänische Schrift hat eine abwechslungsreiche Geschichte. Der Heilige

Stefan von Perm hat eine spezielle, sogenannte aburische Schrift für die Syrjänen entwickelt, später gebrauchten sie aber zyrillische Buchstaben. Nach der Revolution schrieben sie zunächst mit zyrillischen, dann einige Jahre lang mit lateinischen Buchstaben. Seit 1939 gebrauchen sie wieder die — allerdings um zwei Buchstaben ergänzte — zyrillische Schrift. Auf S. 56. schreibt der Autor folgendes: „Die Umstellung auf lateinische Schrift war aber nicht mit Erfolg gekrönt.“ Über die Ursachen erfahren wir jedoch nichts. Die Behauptung, daß die Phoneme *c* und *f* sich in die syrjänische Sprache eingebürgert hätten (57), ist etwas übertrieben, da Rédei selbst auf nächster Seite feststellt, daß *c*, *f*, und *x* „heute noch nicht als syrjänische Phoneme betrachtet werden können“ (58).

Das nächste Kapitel behandelt die Phonologie des Syrjänischen (58–64). Der Autor beschreibt die syrjänischen Phoneme sowie die Regeln der Phonemverbindungen und die Ausspracheregeln. Es ist bedauerlich, daß er die Besonderheiten des Vokalismus des Dialektes KP (= Ost-Permjak) auf nicht hervorhebt (in bezug das *ø* Phonem des OP siehe jedoch 67–68).

Nach der traditionellen phonologischen Beschreibung werden die syrjänischen Phoneme durch distinktive Merkmale dargestellt (49–50). Obwohl dies ein anerkennenswerter Versuch ist, neuere Methoden in der Beschreibung des syrjänischen Lautbestandes anzuwenden, scheint er nicht in jeder Hinsicht befriedigend zu sein. Die Anzahl der in der Beschreibung des syrjänischen Vokalismus verwendeten distinktiven Merkmalen kann zwar nicht herabgesetzt werden, widerspricht es jedoch unserer Intuition, der allgemeinen Praxis und des Prinzips der Binarität, daß die Phoneme *a e i* mit den Merkmalen $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ -\text{front} \end{bmatrix}$ charakterisiert werden. Das Problem kann nur gelöst werden, wenn wir anstatt des Merkmals [front] das Merkmal [round] nehmen, wodurch folgende Matrix entsteht:

	e	ē	o	a	i	ī	u
high	—	—	—	—	+	+	+
low	—	—	—	+	(—)	(—)	(—)
round	—	—	+	(—)	—	—	+
back	—	+	(+)	(+)	—	+	(+)

In diesem Fall ändern sich natürlich auch die Redundanz-Regeln.

(Es sei noch vermerkt, daß Rédei's zweite Redundanz-Regel auch formal nicht richtig ist, weil es kein Phonem gibt, das die Merkmale $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{back} \\ +\text{front} \end{bmatrix}$ hätte. Die Regel müßte eigentlich $\begin{bmatrix} [+[\text{back}]] \\ [+[\text{front}]] \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow +[\text{per.}]$ heißen.) Zur Beschreibung des Vokalismus der KP-Mundart genügen drei distinktive Merkmale, wenn wir das *u* und *ó* mit dem Merkmal [—back], das *a* und *o* mit dem Merkmal [+back] versehen. Die entsprechende Matrix wäre dann wie folgende:

	e	ó	a	o	i	u	ē	u
high	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
back	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	+
round	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	+

Dieses System wird nicht nur den linguistischen Fakten gerecht (cf. Lytkin: *Komijazvinskij dialekt*, 29), sondern ist auch viel einfacher als Rédei's Darstellung.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Konsonantensystem habe ich zwei Einwendungen: Einerseits ist die Aufnahme des Merkmals [lat.] 'lateral' überflüssig, da das *l* und das *r* mit Hilfe des Merkmals [continuant] auseinander gehalten werden können. Andererseits sind das *s* und *š* bzw. das *z* und *ž* genau mit denselben Merkmalen charakterisiert d. h. werden formal nicht unterschieden. Das Problem kann gelöst werden, indem wir anstatt des Merkmals [round] das Merkmal [back] nehmen, weil dadurch sowohl die oppositionen *p:k*, *b:g*, als auch die oppositionen *s:š*, *z:ž* adäquat dargestellt werden können. Die ersten Glieder der erwähnten Oppositionen erhalten nämlich das Merkmal [—back] und die zweiten das Merkmal [+back]. Zum Abschluß noch eine Bemerkung: Wenn

der Autor schon die von ihm gebrauchten distinktiven Merkmale nicht interpretierte und auch nicht auf die Quelleangabe hinwies, hätte er wenigstens in jedem Falle die volle deutsche Bezeichnungen der distinktiven Merkmale angeben sollen.

Das Kapitel ist durch Transkriptionstabellen (65—68) abgeschlossen. Die Abkürzung „weich. Vok.“ auf 65—66 ist ein ungenauer Ausdruck, da es sich eigentlich um einen Buchstaben handelt, der die Weichheit des vorangehenden Konsonanten bezeichnet. Es wäre besser gewesen, die fraglichen Buchstaben aufzuzählen: *m + e, u, w, a, b*. Aufgrund der Feststellung auf S. 48 „... gibt es in diesem Dialekt eine phonologische Opposition zwischen *w* (< *l*) und *v*...“ würde man annehmen, daß es in dem PS Dialekt auch ein Phonem *w* gibt. Dieses Phonem ist jedoch in der Transkriptionstabelle nicht angegeben.

Im Kapitel über die Morphologie (69—73) befaßt sich der Autor mit der phonologischen Struktur und morphologischen Alternationen der Morpheme, mit dem Sandhi und mit der Betonung. Er meint, daß die mit den possessiven Personalendungen (-*am*, -*ad*, -*as*) versehenen Inessiv- und Illativ-Formen eine unzergliederbare Einheit bilden. Hierzu steht aber im Widerspruch, daß in den schon erwähnten Suffixen die Endungen -*m*, -*d* -*s* eindeutig die Person des Besitzers ausdrücken, das vor diesen stehende -*a*- kann also die Kasusendung sein (cf. Vászolyi. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 69 [1967], 16). Obwohl dies etwas Ungewöhnlich erscheinen mag, da in der absoluten Flexion die Endung des Inessivs -*in* und der erwähnten Formen ist kaum möglich. Übrigens schreibt der Verfasser selbst (76), daß die -*ē* Nachsilbe auch ein -*a*- Allomorph hat.

Das Kapitel über die Morphologie (74—121) behandelt die Wortarten und ihre morphologischen Eigenschaften.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Adjektiv beschreibt der Verfasser die Steigerung und die Funktion des Adjektivs in Satz. Aus S. 80 kann man folgenden, etwas sonder-

baren Satz lesen: „Das Adjektiv kann attributiv, prädikativ ... und substantivisch gebraucht werden.“ Es scheint mir, daß hier zwei, nicht zu einander gehörende Sachen aus Zufall in einen Satz geraten sind.

Nach den Nominal werden die Pronomina behandelt (90—100). Die Flexion der Pronomina wird in Flexionstabellen zusammengefasst. Sie die Identifizierung der oft unregelmäßig deklinierten pronominalen Formen wesentlich erleichtern.

Auf S. 92. steht folgendes:

„Von den Kasusformen Gen., Gen.-Abl. und Dat. in der 1. und 2. Person Sing. gliedert sich der Gen.-Abl. (*men-ši-m*, *ten-ši-d*) deskriptiv betrachtet, der Gen. und Dat. (*men-a-m*, *men-im*, *ten-a-d*, *ten-i-d*) historisch gesehen in die Elemente Pronominalstamm + Cx + Px.“

Es ist unklar, auf welcher Basis der Autor eine solche Unterscheidung macht. Die entsprechenden Kasus-Endungen in der absoluten Flexion sind wie folgt: gen. *-len*, gen.-abl. *-liš*, dat. *-li*. Wenn aber die Endung *-liš* aus deskriptivem Gesichtspunkt aus *-ši-* als Allomorph haben kann, warum könnte dann nicht *-li* *-i-* als Allomorph haben? Es wäre vielleicht besser, wenn man diese Formen (mindestens aus deskriptivem Gesichtspunkt aus) überhaupt nicht segmentieren würde.

Das Kapitel über das Verb (100—116) faßt die wichtigsten Eigenschaften der Verb-Morphologie zusammen; auch hier werden die verschiedenen Flexionsmuster an Beispielen dargestellt. Meine Bemerkungen beziehen sich lediglich auf das Tempus: laut Rédei ist im Syrjänischen das Präsens durch eine besondere Endung gekennzeichnet, usw. in der 1. und 2. Person durch *a*, in der 3. Person durch *g*. Diese Auffassung kann ich aus folgenden Gründen nicht teilen:

1) Sämtliche Tempora sind durch eine leicht erkennbare Endung gekennzeichnet, es ist daher überflüssig, das Präsens auszuzeichnen.

2) Wenn wir die Elemente *a* und *g* als temporale Endungen betrachten, entsteht dadurch die sonderbare Lage, daß die 1.

und 3. Person Sing. nur durch die Allomorphe der (überflüssigen) temporalen Endung voneinander unterschieden sind. Da die Unterscheidung der Personen wichtiger ist, wäre es angebracht, das *-a* als Ausdruck der ersten und das *-g* als Ausdruck der dritten Person zu betrachten. Diese Lösung steht nicht im Gegensatz zu den sprachgeschichtlichen Fakten.

3) Laut Rédei ist die Futurumendung auch *a*. Dann würde aber dasselbe Segment in der 1. und 2. Person die Präsensendung, in 3. Person die Futurumendung darstellen, ein ziemlich ungewöhnliches Phänomen.

Wie es aus dem Obigen hervorgeht, rechnet Rédei im Syrjänischen auch mit einem Futurum und bemerkt, daß die Futurum-Formen sich nur in der 3. Person von den Präsens-Formen unterscheiden. Ohne meine Auffassung ausführlich darzustellen möchte ich dazu nur folgendes bemerken:

1) Vom Gesichtspunkt des Sprachsystems ist es nicht notwendig besondere Futurum-Formen aufzunehmen, da sich im Syrjänischen (ebenso wie in den anderen finno-ugrischen Sprachen) die Bedeutung des Futurum durch das Präsens ausdrücken läßt.

2) Es mag sein, daß in der Literatursprache die beiden Tempusformen konsequent unterschieden werden, doch kann man dasselbe von den Dialekten nicht behaupten. Im Zusammenhang mit der Ud.-Mundart bekräftigte auch Lytkin (*Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 71 [1900], 96) diese Behauptung. Und daß dies auch der Fall bei anderen Dialekten ist, das zeigt das folgende, von Rédei genommene Beispiel (140): *more dorę sija leccas lijsini, utkajasg lijlę*. 'Er geht hinunter zum Meer, er schießt auf Wildenten'. Im Beispiel ist *leccas* 'er geht hinunter' formal Futurum, und *lijlę* 'er schießt' Präsens. Es ist aber offenbar, daß beide Verbformen dasselbe Tempus ausdrücken, wie dies auch die Übersetzung des Autors zeigt. Dem Sinn gemäß würde gerade die Futurum-Form die früher geschehende Hand-

lung bezeichnen, was gegen jede Intuition spricht.

3) Auch in der Literatursprache gibt es Beispiele dafür, daß die zwei Tempusendungen nicht auseinander gehalten werden. So z. B. hat das Verb *lo-* 'werden' in der 3. Person Sing. die Formen *loġ* und auch *loas*, doch drücken beide Futurum aus. Von den Hilfszeitwörtern, die nur in der 3. Person gebraucht werden, erhält z. B. das Verb *kolġ* 'müssen' die Endung *-ġ* und das Verb *kovmas* 'es ist notwendig' die Endung *-as*, obzwar beide Präsens ausdrücken.

Die obigen Bemerkungen legen nahe, daß das Vorhandensein des Futurums im Syrjänischen (die Mundarten mit einbegriffen) nicht mit Sicherheit behauptet werden kann.

Nach den Verben folgt die Aufzählung der Adverbien (116–116), der Postpositionen (119–121) und der Konjunktionen (121).

In dem Kapitel über Syntax (122–130) befaßt sich der Verfasser mit folgenden Fragen: Satzteile, Kongruenz, Wortfolge, Negation und Untersagung, habeo-Konstruktionen, Partizipialkonstruktionen, Klassifizierung der Sätze. Der Verfasser berührt daher alle wesentliche syntaktische Probleme. Im Zusammenhang mit den Satzteilen werden auch die Funktionen der Kasusendungen (122–124) kurz erklärt; eine ausführlichere Darstellung hätte aber nicht geschadet.

Zusammenfassend kann man wohl sagen, daß der Verfasser die wichtigsten phonetischen, morphologischen und syntaktischen Eigenschaften des Syrjänischen in adäquater Weise — bündig, klar und verständlich — darstellt. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß Rédeis Darstellung viel mehr bietet als die kurze, sich auf Flexionstabellen beschränkende grammatische Skizze in der syrjänischen Chrestomathie von Uotila.

Ein besonderer Wert in Rédeis Darstellung liegt darin, daß sie bezüglich Suffixe oft auch sprachgeschichtliche Hinweise enthält. Nach meinem Geschmack hätte

der Verfasser mehr Gewicht auf die sprachgeschichtlichen Aspekte legen können, ich weiß aber, daß sein Ziel nicht eine sprachgeschichtliche Darstellung war und er war auch durch den beschränkten Umfang gebunden.

Rédei bringt in der Textsammlung (131–169) 21 mundartliche und literarische Texte. Die 16 Dialekttexte repräsentieren acht — eigentlich fast alle wichtigen — Mundarten. Wir können es nur bedauern, daß die Sammlung keinen Text aus dem — sprachgeschichtlich sehr bedeutenden — ostpermisschen (jaswaischen) Dialekt enthält. Die Texte werden — völlig richtig — in phonematischer Transkription gebracht. Die Sammlung enthält außer Rédeis eigenes Sammlung auch eine Auswahl aus der Sammlung früherer Forscher (Wichmann, Fokos). Die Texte repräsentieren die verschiedensten Gattungen: Märchen, Gedichte, Sagen, Rätsel und die Beschreibung von Gebräuchen. Es ist schade, daß in der Sammlung keine Angaben über die Informanten (Geschlecht, Alter, usw.) zu finden sind.

Die fünf Texte aus der Literatursprache machen 13 Seiten aus. In diesem Teil finden wir in kyrillischer Schrift eine längere Erzählung und vier Gedichte. Da das Syrjänische zu den wenigen finno-ugrischen Sprachen gehört, die frühe (aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammende) Sprachdenkmäler besitzen, hätte der Verfasser im Hinblick auf deren große sprachgeschichtliche Bedeutung auch einige ur-syrjänische Texte in seine Sammlung aufnehmen sollen. Ebenfalls hätte er das Geburts- und Todesjahr der Schriftsteller und das Entstehungsjahr der Werke angeben sollen. Um z. B. das Kuratow-Gedicht richtig einschätzen zu können, muß man wissen, daß es in der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts entstand.

Der Verfasser hätte in seine Sammlung auf Texte auch einige Alltagsteste aufgenommen können. Dies hätte mehrere Vorteile gehabt:

1. Die Studenten müßten nicht das Studium der syrjänischen Sprache mit

komplizierten (mundartlichen oder literarischen) Texten beginnen.

2. Der Student würde vielleicht Lust dazu bekommen, die Sprache sprechen zu lernen, was natürlich ein Vorteil für die Forschung ist.

3. Die Erfolge beim Verstehen leichter Texte würde zu weiteren Studien des Syrjänischen anspornen.

Das Verzeichnis der Wörter (170—215) enthält das Wortmaterial der Texte, etwa 2500 Wörter. Wenn es solche gibt, werden auch die mundartlichen Varianten angegeben. Außer den ungarischen Entsprechungen finden wir manchmal auch Hinweise auf den russischen Ursprung des Wortes. Es wäre nützlich gewesen, etymologische Hinweise auch bei Wörtern anzugeben, die nicht russischen Ursprungs sind. Dies hätte den Umfang nicht wesentlich vergrößert, gleichzeitig aber den Wert des Verzeichnisses bedeutend erhöht.

Die deutschen Übersetzungen (216—260) leisten große Hilfe beim Studium der Texte.

Am Ende des Buches findet man ein etwas mangelhaftes Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen (261—263) und eine Karte (261), die die geographische Ausbreitung der syrjänischen Mundarten darstellt.

Zusammenfassend kann man wohl sagen, daß die Hauptwerte der syrjänischen Chrestomathie die reiche Bibliographie, die gut überblickbare, klare grammatische Zusammenfassung und die gut ausgewählten Texte darstellen.

Außer den Studenten richtet sich Rédei's Werk an Alle, die sich mit der finno-ugrischen, besonders aber mit der syrjänischen Sprachwissenschaft befassen.

2. Die zweite zu besprechende Arbeit enthält die vom Autor gesammelten Texte der syrjänischen Mundarten.

Die Bedingungen für eine erfolgreiche Mundartforschung könnte man folgendermaßen zusammenfassen:

— adäquate Kenntnis der erforschende Sprache,

- entsprechendes Verhältnis zu den Gewährsleuten,
- die Auswahl von geeigneten Gewährsleuten,
- das Sammeln von linguistisch und ethnographisch wertvollen Texten,
- die Veröffentlichung des gesammelten Materials, wobei das Material genau übersetzt und erklärt werden muß.

Wie wir sehen werden, erfüllt Rédei's Forschungsarbeit diese Bedingungen, folglich kann seine Sammlung in jeder Hinsicht als erfolgreich betrachtet werden. Den Großteil seiner Texte hat Rédei 1964 gesammelt während seiner dreieinhalbmonatigen Studienreise auf syrjänischem Boden. Im Mai 1964 durchwanderte er in der Begleitung des syrjänischer Folkloristen A. K. Mikuschew die Dörfer am Fluß Vim, am Bord des kleinen Schiffes namens "Nauka". Mikuschew äußerte sich später über Rédei's Sammlerqualitäten wie folgt: "Карой Редей, тогда совсем ещё молодой учёный, поразил местных певцов и сказителей своим великолепным коми разговорным языком, своей простотой и душевной щедростью, пристальным интересом к вымскому быту, к охотничьим обычаям."

Was die Auswahl der Gewährsleute anbelangt, Rédei arbeitete mit 71 Gewährsleuten (59 Frauen und 12 Männer), die acht Mundarten vertraten. Die Gewährsleute bildeten zwei, voneinander klar unterscheidbare Gruppen. Zu der ersten Gruppe gehörten junge Linguisten und Ethnographen, und in Syktywkar studierende Studenten (insgesamt etwa 20 Personen). Mit ihnen arbeitete Rédei in Syktywkar und in Moskau. Die zweite Gruppe, bestehend aus 50 Personen, bildeten Gewährsleute, die zur älteren Generation gehörten (ihr Alter variierte von 50 bis zu 83 Jahre) und in ihren Dörfern lebten. Diese sind ja gerade die idealen Gewährsleute für die Mundartforschung. (Hier möchte ich gleich bemerken, daß das Alter der Gewährsleute nicht immer angegeben wird, obwohl dies eine wichtige Information darstellt.) Auf die

linguistische und ethnographische Beurteilung der Texte komme ich später noch zurück.

Die Aufzeichnung ist im allgemeinen phonematisch, es werden aber stets die die Mundart charakterisierenden spezifischen Allophone angegeben. Dies scheint in aller Hinsicht eine adäquate Lösung zu sein. In gewissen Fällen hätte man jedoch den phonetischen Aspekt in noch größerem Maße gelten lassen. Diese Bemerkung bezieht sich auf Fälle wie: (40) Vm. *molodka*, (78) Vm. *družka*. Da im Syrjänischen die Konsonanten dem folgenden Konsonanten nach Stimmhaftigkeit angeglichen werden (cf. Rédei: *Chrestomathia Syrjaenica* 58), kann man wohl annehmen, daß die obigen Wörter *molotka* und *družka* lauten. Wenn das stimmt, hätte man diese Wörter auch entsprechend angeben müssen. An einer anderen Stelle wählt der Autor die folgende Lösung: (476) PS *postę* [ɔ: poztę], *posę* [ɔ: poztę], (480) PS *kjć-kę* [ɔ: kjć-kę]. Das erste Glied dieser Wortpaare ist vermutlich phonetisch geschrieben, die in eckigen Klammern stehenden Formen widerspiegeln die analytische (phonematische?) Schriftweise. Rédei erklärt bedauerlicherweise sein Vorgehen nicht. Über die südpermische Mundart schreibt er u. a. (473): "The phonemes *ę* and *į* have the reduced allophones *â* and *î* in absolute final positions . . ." Doch bezeichnet er nirgends in den Texten die reduzierten Allophone, obwohl diese zu den distinktiven Eigenheiten des Süd-Permischen gehören. Sein Vorgehen bleibt auch diesmal unbegründet. Es sei noch erwähnt, daß die Form (270) VU *lutše* etwas überraschend wirkt, wenn man an die Form *lučše* der Literatursprache und an das russische Vorbild *лучше* denkt. Abgesehen aber von den obigen kritischen Bemerkungen ist Rédei's Aufzeichnung — so weit ich es feststellen konnte — tadellos.

Die Bemerkungen, Erläuterungen und Kommentare zu den Texten (Notes to the texts 558—586) finden wir am Ende des Bandes. Sie enthalten den Namen des

Gewährsleute, Bedeutungserklärungen, Hinweise auf den russischen Ursprung mancher Wörter und deren Vorkommen bei anderen Autoren; literarische und ethnographische Bemerkungen. Der Gebrauch des im übrigen musterhaften Notensystems ist etwas schwerfällig. Der Verfasser teilt die Texte in kleinere Einheiten ein, er nummeriert sie und weist in Bemerkungen auf diesen Nummer hin. Dadurch weiß man natürlich nicht, auf welches Wort oder auf welcher Ausdruck des Textes hingewiesen wird. Leider wird auch in dem syrjänischen Text nicht angegeben, zu welchem Wort die Bemerkung gehört. Es ist mir nicht klar, auf Grund welcher Prinzipien bei einigen Wörtern der russische Ursprung erwähnt wird, bei anderen aber nicht. In dem Text 33. z. B. weist der Verfasser auf den russischen Ursprung der Wörter *četverik*, *dve kopejki*, *beda*, *smotri* hin, er tut das aber nicht bei den Wörtern *poma* und *skorobogatej*. Natürlich können wir es vom Autor nicht verlangen, daß er sämtliche Wörter russischen Ursprungs aufzählt, doch hätte er die Prinzipien der Ausnahme klarmachen müssen.

Nach den obigen allgemeinen Bemerkungen schauen wir uns nun Rédei's Buch etwas genauer an. Dem ausführlichen Inhaltsverzeichnis (5—8) folgt das ein wenig zu kurz ausgefallene Vorwort (9—10). In diesem informiert uns der Autor über die Umstände der Sammlung, über seine syrjänischen Mitarbeiter, über das System der Transkription usw. Meiner Meinung nach hätte er über seine Sammlerreise, seine Arbeitsweise, über die Auswahl der Gewährsleute, über die Lebensverhältnisse der Gewährsleute ausführlicher berichten können. Ein solcher Bericht wäre aus wissenschaftlichem (ethnographischem, sprachwissenschaftlichem) Standpunkt umso mehr wichtig gewesen, da Rédei auch in seinen früheren Text-Veröffentlichungen (in: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 61 [1900], 95—99; 73 [1900], 3—23) in dieser Hinsicht sehr wenig sagt. Es wäre zweckmäßig gewesen, für den in der finno-ugri-

schen Sprachwissenschaft unbewanderten Leser den Lautwert von *g*, *z*, *ž* usw. zu erklären.

Nach dem Vorwort findet man ein Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen (11–12). Die 251 syrjänische Texte (13–557) verschiedener Gattungen repräsentieren acht Mundarten. Nicht alle Mundarten sind dabei mit gleichem Gewicht vertreten. Der Verfasser sammelte Material vor allem aus Mundarten, aus denen uns bisher wenig Texte zur Verfügung standen. Rédei konnte die Mundarten von Wim, Unter-Witschegda, Ober-Witschegda und Wischera an Ort und Stelle studieren. Das ermittelte Material ist umfangreicher, sprachwissenschaftlich und ethnographisch gesehen wertvoller als das aus anderen Mundarten gesammelte Material. Ihr sprachwissenschaftlicher Wert liegt vor allem darin, daß diese Texte von einfachen Menschen stammen, deren Sprache von der syrjänischen Literatursprache, oder vom Russischen kaum beeinflußt worden ist. In dieser Hinsicht gibt es jedoch gewisse Unterschiede unter den obengenannten Mundarten. So gibt es anscheinend in den Texten aus Wim mehr Wörter russischen Ursprungs, als in denen von Unter-Witschegda. Bei der Beschreibung der Sprache einer Lehrerin, die die Mundart von Unter-Witschegda spricht, weist auch der Autor hin, daß in ihrer Sprache der Einfluß der Literatursprache zu beobachten ist (566). Der ethnographische Wert der Texte wird durch die Mannigfaltigkeit der Gattungen gewährleistet. Neben den archaischen Gattungen, wie Klagen, Zauberlieder und Verwünschungen, Kinderlieder und epische Gesänge, finden wir hier auch Märchen und Sagen, Rätsel, Sprichwörter, Lieder und Sprüche. Der Autor erwähnt in seinen Bemerkungen (572–582) auch einige unübersetzbare Sprüche. Diese in Grunde genommen sinnlose Sprüche sollten sowohl linguistisch wie auch ethnographisch genauer untersucht werden. Die aus den anderen vier Mundarten (Mittel-Witschegda, Ischma, Nord und Süd-Perm) stammenden Texte hat Rédei in der syrjäni-

schen Hauptstadt Syktywkar bzw. zum Teil auch in Moskau gesammelt. Seine Informanten waren syrjänische Studenten bzw. junge Syrjänen, die bereits ihr Universitätsstudium abgeschlossen hatten. Diese Texte unterscheiden sich sowohl sprachlich, als auch bezüglich der Gattung von den Texten der vorherigen Gruppe. Was die Gattung anbelangt, bestehen die Texte lediglich aus Märchen und aus verschiedenen Geschichten die sich mit Gewohnheiten, mit verschiedenen Tätigkeiten, mit der Kindheit, mit dem Dorfleben, mit dem Kolchos usw. befassen. Natürlich gibt es auch unter diesen besonders wertvolle Texte wie z. B. die Erzählung der Sprachforscherin Batalowa über die Hochzeit (546–553), weniger interessant sind die Texte, die z. B. über Mitschurin oder Moskau berichten (464–465). Selbstverständlich sind Erzählungen über das Leben und das Dorf der Gewährsleute auch von Interesse, da diese die veränderte Lebensform widerspiegeln. Sprachlich charakterisiert diese Texte einerseits der Einfluß der syrjänischen Literatursprache (vgl. z. B. die Texte aus Ischma cf. 397), andererseits ein starker russischer Einfluß. Einen besonders starken russischen Einfluß können wir im Nord- und Südpermjak beobachten. Im Südpermjak kommen Phänomene russischen Ursprungs (*f*, *í*, *c*, *ch*), russisch flektierte Substantive und Verbe vor. In einigen, aufs Geratewohl ausgewählten Zeilen eines Textes die von einem Gewährsmann namens Tarakanow stammen und in denen dieser über sein Dorf berichteten (554–557), gab es unter 100 Wörter 39 syrjänische und 61 russische. Es ist fraglich, ob eine solche Sprachform noch als Syrjänisch betrachtet werden kann. Ich glaube, daß wir in diesem Falle vorbehaltlos über Sprachverderbnis sprechen können. Glücklicherweise ist selbst im Süd-Permischen die Lage nicht überall so schlecht, siehe z. B. den erwähnten Text von Batalowa. Es ist doch nützlich, daß Rédei auch Texte dieser Art in seine Sammlung aufnahm, einerseits weil wenig permische Texte uns zu Verfügung stehen,

andererseits weil die Forschung solcher Texte auch von Belang ist.

Der Aufbau der acht Kapitel ist identisch. Den Angaben über die Informanten folgt eine kurze Beschreibung des wichtigsten Eigenschaften der fraglichen Mundart. Die syrjänischen Texte finden wir auf den geraden Seiten des Buches, gegenüber auf den ungeraden Seiten steht die englische Übersetzung.

Nach den bereits erwähnten Erläuterungen, Bemerkungen und Kommentare folgen zwei wichtige Anhänge. Der erste Anhang gibt die Aarne-Thompson-Nummer der im Band veröffentlichten Märchen an (597–599). Dieser Anhang wurde von Ágnes Kovács zusammengestellt.

Der zweite Anhang, verfaßt von Maria Domokos, enthält die Noten und Texte von 29 Liedern und einige allgemeine, so wie die einzelnen Melodien betreffenden Bemerkungen. Die Forscher der finno-ugrischen Volksmusik werden sicher das hier veröffentlichte Material mit großer Freude entgegennehmen.

Am Ende des Bandes findet man sieben Photographen von syrjänischen Menschen und Landschaften, die aber aus typographischen oder anderen Gründen von ziemlich schwacher Qualität sind. Bei einem solchen repräsentativen Band wäre es der Mühe wert gewesen der Qualität der Photographien eine größere Aufmerksamkeit zu nehmen.

Rédeis syrjänische Texte werden zweifelsohne die Forschung der syrjänischen Sprache und die syrjänische Ethnographie fördern. Die Forscher der Folkloristik werden von der Verschiedenartigkeit der im Band vertretenen Textgattungen ergriffen, der Sprachwissenschaftler dagegen von den mannigfaltigen Forschungsmöglichkeiten, die der Band anbietet. Um nur einige zu erwähnen: In manchen Fällen ermöglicht das umfangreiche Material die Erforschung und Beschreibung der Phonetik, Morphologie und Syntax der Mundart. Vor allem wäre die Beschreibung der Syntax interessant, da die syntaktischen Forschungen in syrjänischen (wie in den

finno-ugrischen Sprachen schlechthin) noch in den Kinderschuhen stecken.

Es wäre auch nicht uninteressant die Sprache verschiedener Textgattungen miteinander zu vergleichen. Man könnte auch Rédeis Texte mit den am Anfang des Jahrhunderts von Fokos und Wichmann gesammelten Texten vergleichen. Während der seither verstrichenen 50–60 Jahre vollzogen sich bedeutende soziale und wirtschaftliche Änderungen im Leben des syrjänischen Volkes. Wie hat sich die Sprache während dieser Zeit verändert? Man könnte die Sprache der im Band angeführten älteren und jüngeren Dichter vergleichen. Man könnte das Ausmaß des russischen Einflusses auf die einzelnen Mundarten untersuchen und die Resultate mit denen der früheren Forscher vergleichen. Bei der Bearbeitung des syrjänischen Sprachmaterials könnte man die Methoden der modernen Sprachwissenschaft anwenden. Die Linguisten könnten dann bei der Ausarbeitung ihrer Theorien auch auf die Besonderheiten des finno-ugrischen Sprachen Bezug nehmen. Dies würde auch für die allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft einen großen Gewinn bedeuten.

Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, daß Rédeis Texte einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Erforschung der syrjänischen Sprache liefern, gleichzeitig aber auch für die ganze Finno-ugristik äußerst wichtig sind.

S. Csúcs

Я. Н. Попова: Ненецко-русский словарь. Лесное наречие. Studia Uralo-altaica 12. Szeged 1978, 152 S.

Was die samojedischen Sprachen betrifft, steht den Linguisten an sprachlich-sprachwissenschaftlichem Material besonders viel aus dem Jurakischen zur Verfügung, es sei hier nur auf T. Lehtisalo Jurak-samojedisches Wörterbuch, N. M. Tereščenko Nenecko-russkij slovar', Castrén-Lehtisalo Samojedische Sprachmate-

rialien und Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung sowie Kuprijanova Epičeskie pesni nencev verwiesen. Das in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht außerordentlich wertvolle Wörterbuch von Lehtisalo, das auch die Dialekte genau bezeichnet, ist bis heute nicht völlig ausgenutzt worden. In die Reihe der erwähnten Wörterbücher fügt sich organisch das 1978 erschienene jurakisch-russische Wörterbuch von N. Popova. Es ist das erste Wörterbuch der Samojedistik, das den Grundwortschatz eines einzigen Dialektes beinhaltet. Popova stellte mit diesem Werk ein jurakisch-russisches Wörterbuch des Pur-Dialektes, der zu den weniger bekannten wald-jurakischen Dialekten gehört, zusammen.

Anhand des Wörterbuches von Lehtisalo bleibt der Wortschatz des Pur-Dialektes unklar. Das vorliegende Wörterbuch ergänzt den bisher bekannten Wortschatz dieses Dialektes mit einer großen Anzahl von neuen Daten. Unter den 2500—3000 Angaben befinden sich viele Grundwörter, was nicht nur eine gute Übersicht über den Wortschatz gewährt, sondern auch für das Studie des Pur-Dialekte und er Morphologie des Wald-Jurakischen unentbehrlich ist.

Im Gegensatz zum Material von Lehtisalo beinhaltet das Wörterbuch von Popova die Ausdrücke des alltäglichen Leben.

Im Vorwort des Wörterbuches (5—7) führt Popova in ziemlicher Kürze die bekannten Daten über die jurakischen Dialekte bzw. die wichtigsten Unterschied zwischen diesen Dialekten an. Darüberhinaus verweist das Vorwort über den Gebrauch des Wörterbuches. Über die Umstände, unter welchen das Wortmaterial gesammelt wurde, über die Informanten und den Zeitpunkt der Sammelarbeit enthält das Vorwort keine Angaben (wahrscheinlich wurde das Wortmaterial anlässlich der Forschungsreise gesammelt, von der in Фонетические особенности лесного наречия ненецкого языка (14) berichtet wird).

Das Wortmaterial ist verhältnismäßig einheitlich, und wie dies an den 'lexikali-

schen' Angaben hervorgeht, anhand von Fragebögen zusammengestellt. Im Wörterbuch sind Wortverbindungen selten angegeben (mit Ausnahme der genauen Angabe der Monatsbezeichnungen), konjugierte bzw. deklinierte Formen kommen überhaupt nicht vor.

Der Gebrauch des Wörterbuches wird durch die einheitliche, in der Uralistik allgemein verwendete Transkription (nach Setälä) erleichtert; Ausnahmen sind die Zeichen *h*, *i*, *ɛ*, die die Laute *ɕ*, *L*, *ʒ* bezeichnen.

Im Wörterbuch sind (im Gegensatz zu Lehtisalo) die etymologisch zusammengehörenden Wörter nicht an einer Stelle angeführt, die Angaben sind hingegen nach einer in der Einleitung (10) angeführten alphabetischen Reihenfolge geordnet. So erscheint die Länge — obwohl konsequent bezeichnet — in der alphabetischen Einordnung als irrelevante Erscheinung, von zwei gleichförmigen Wörtern wird sogar jenes Wort, das den Langvokal enthält, zuerst angeführt. Es wirkt ein wenig störend, daß auf die Palatalisierung (die zwar bezeichnet ist) bei der Einordnung der Wörter keine Rücksicht genommen wurde.

Um einen Schreibfehler handelt es sich wahrscheinlich beim Wort *hem'pa(š)* 'одевать', das nicht an der entsprechenden Stelle des Alphabets steht, sondern weiter hinten. Das Wort ist auch in der Form *hem'pa(š)* 'одець' — diesmal in entsprechender Einordnung — zu finden.

Da das Wortmaterial nur in phonetisch-phonologischer Hinsicht bewertbar ist, folgen — auf Grund des Materials — einige einschlägige Bemerkungen. Das Wörterbuch unterscheidet 7 Vokalphoneme; Popova betrachtet — wie Verbov — *ə* und *ɛ* als Phoneme. Diese zwei Laute sind wahrscheinlich keine Phoneme, sondern nur Allophone von *e* und *i* in der Position nach nichtpalatalen Konsonanten.

Jeder Konsonant besitzt ein entsprechendes palatalisiertes Gegenstück, Ausnahmen sind *ŋ* und *ʔ*. Die Annahme, daß *k* als auch *χ* Phoneme sind, ist etwas über-

raschend. Das \mathbb{K} hält Sammalahiti für ein Phonem, diese Annahme wird überzeugend motiviert (FUF 41 [1975] 89–90). Anlautend kommt $\acute{\chi}$ - nur in einem Wort vor: $\acute{\chi}i'ta(\acute{s})$ 'успокоиться'. Das Wort wird in Lehtisalo nicht erwähnt, und auch im Wörterbuch von Popova ist das Wort die einzige Angabe für die Lautfolge $\acute{\chi}i$ - im Anlaut. Neben χ steht nur a , jedoch nicht i .

Im vorliegenden Wörterbuch wird auch die Länge der Vokale bezeichnet. Es werden (wie bei Tereščenko) drei Längengrade unterschieden, die dem Anschein nach (vor allem beim Vokal a) phonematisch sind:

$\acute{h}\ddot{a}\eta ka(\acute{s})$	'прорубить лёд'
$\acute{h}\eta\eta ka(\acute{s})$	'взтряхнуть'
$\acute{h}\eta\eta k\ddot{a}(\acute{s})$	'быть от дельным'
$\acute{p}\ddot{u}ta(\acute{s})$	'опоздать,
	остать': $\acute{p}uta(\acute{s})$ 'дуть'
$\acute{k}\ddot{u}pta$	'утро' : $\acute{k}\ddot{u}pt\eta$ 'дальний'

Bei den übrigen Vokalen gibt es jedoch nur der Opposition normal-lang entsprechende Minimalpaare, obwohl auch diese Vokale (wenn auch selten) in kurzer sein können; die Kürze ist jedoch nicht phonematisch;

$\acute{h}i't'i$	'дед'
	: $\acute{h}i't'i$ 'лука, месяц'
$\acute{t}\ddot{e}'m\acute{p}a$	'кисть руки'
	: $\acute{t}'em\acute{p}a$ 'анат. лопатка'
$\acute{t}\ddot{a}t\ddot{t}a(\acute{s})$	'приготовиться'
	: $\acute{t}\ddot{a}t\ddot{t}a(\acute{s})$ 'накопить, сберечь'
$\acute{h}\ddot{o}\acute{s}$	'отгородить'
	: $\acute{h}\ddot{o}\acute{s}$ 'потерять'

Der Phonemcharakter der Langvokale (vor allem bei a und u) kann dadurch begründet werden, daß sie oft auch in unbetonter Silbe vorkommen:

$\acute{n}\ddot{a}m'to\acute{t}$	'шкура, которую подстилают на нарте'
$\acute{p}\ddot{a}'t\eta$	'сверло'
$\acute{n}\ddot{u}m't\ddot{u}t\acute{s}$	'место соединения'
$\acute{n}\ddot{u}'to(\acute{s})$	'оставить след'

Der Akzent fällt im allgemeinen entweder auf die erste Silbe oder auf die Silbe mit Langvokal.

Ein besonderer Verdienst des Wörterbuches ist die konsequente Bezeichnung des Akzents, da dadurch zum ersten Mal die Akzentverhältnisse eines jurakischen Dialektes beschrieben sind. Popova bezeichnet zwei Akzente: einen Hauptakzent (') und einen Nebenakzent (,). Die Akzentregeln wurden bis jetzt — mangels entsprechender Angaben — kaum erforscht. Péter Hajdú vertritt die Ansicht, daß die Betonung im Jurakischen frei ist und nimmt einen Zusammenhang zwischen Betonung und Qualität an. Gewisse Daten scheinen diesen Zusammenhang zu bestätigen.

1) Es gibt Minimalpaare, die auf Grund der unterschiedlichen Stelle des Akzents in der Länge kontrastieren:

$\acute{h}\ddot{e}na(\acute{s})$	'надеяться'
	: $\acute{h}e'na(\acute{s})$ 'повернуть невод течения реки'
$\acute{p}\ddot{i}te(\acute{s})$	'метить'
	: $\acute{p}i'te(\acute{s})$ 'опалиться'
$\acute{\eta}\ddot{y}p\ddot{a}t\acute{s}$	'сжать в кулок'
	: $\acute{\eta}\ddot{y}'p\ddot{a}t\acute{s}$ 'стиснуть, спать'
$\acute{t}\ddot{a}p'\acute{s}a(\acute{s})$	'шлёпнуть'
	: $\acute{t}\ddot{a}p'\acute{s}a(\acute{s})$ 'притоптать, вытоптать'

2) Die Grundform enthält einen Langvokal, die abgeleitete Form hingegen nicht, die Betonung variiert:

$\acute{h}\ddot{a}mp$	'длинный'
	: $\acute{h}\ddot{a}m'tom\acute{s}$ 'удлиниться'
$\acute{x}\ddot{u}lu$	'телёнок'
	: $\acute{x}u'tu\eta$ 'самец (больше телёнка)'
$\acute{p}o'x\ddot{o}(\acute{s})$	приблизиться к завершению, к концу'
	: $\acute{p}oxo'ta(\acute{s})$ 'приблизиться к завершению, к концу'
$\acute{m}\ddot{o}\acute{t}'u$	'жар'
	: $\acute{m}\ddot{o}'t'\ddot{u}m\acute{s}$ 'накилиться'
$\acute{p}\ddot{i}t$	'высота'
	: $\acute{p}i't\ddot{a}m\acute{s}$ 'стать высоким'

Nach den Angaben des Wörterbuches scheint der Akzent in einigen Fällen phonematisch zu sein:

- ηα'χαη 'река Аган'
 : ηαχαη 'подушечка на
 ладони противобольшого
 польца'
 'ραχα 1) 'междуречье
 2) 'маленький полуостров'
 : ρα'χα 'ствол'
 'λαμπα(ς) 'чистить'
 : λαμ'πα(ς) 'быть заболочен-
 ным'
 'ςιτε(ς) 'разбудить'
 : ςι'τε(ς) 'сделать что-ли-
 бо полезное'

Neben den vielen Vorteilen hat das Wörterbuch auch einen Nachteil, sein Gebrauch wird nämlich wegen dem Fehlen eines russischen Registers bedeutend erschwert. Der Aufbau des Wörterbuches — genau wie beim Wörterbuch von Tereščenko — entspricht ansonsten den Anforderungen eines zweisprachigen Wörterbuches.

Trotz des erwähnten Nachteils stellt das Wörterbuch einen bedeutenden Markstein in der sowjetischen Samojedistik dar. Es wäre erfreulich, wenn wir auch über andere samojedische Sprachen ähnliche Wörterbücher hätten.

Éva Fancsaly

Erhard F. Schiefer (Hrsg.): *Explanationes et Tractationes Fenno-Ugricae in Honorem Hans Fromm*. Finnisch-Ugrische Bibliothek (Hrsg. Gerhard Ganschow) Band 3. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 1979, 453 S.

Hans Fromm, Professor für Finnougristik in München, feierte am 26. 5. 1979 seinen 60. Geburtstag. Dem Jubilar wurde von Kollegen aus Germanistik und Finnougristik jeweils eine eigene Festschrift überreicht. Die Festschrift der Germanisten erschien unter dem Titel „Befund und Deutung. Zum Verhältnis von Empire und Interpretation in Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft“ in Tübingen.

Im vorliegenden Band würdigt zunächst Gerhard Ganschow das Schaffen Hans Fromms und überblickt seine finnougri- schen Arbeiten. Hans Fromm arbeitete

zuerst als Lektor für deutsche Sprache jahrelang in Finnland. 1952 erschien seine Monographie über den finnischen Dichter Otto Manninen. Zusammen mit Matti Sadeniemi verfaßte Hans Fromm sein Finnisches Elementarbuch, das 1956 in Heidelberg erschien. Darauf folgte die Habilitationsschrift „Die ältesten germanischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen“, die 1957/58 in der Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur veröffentlicht wurde. Die 1967 erschienene zweibändige (ein Text- und ein Kommentarband) Neubearbeitung des finnischen Nationalepos Kalevala stellt wohl die größte Leistung Hans Fromms dar. Zusammen mit Lore Fromm übersetzte er zum ersten Mal aus dem finnischen Urtext. Darüber hinaus hat Hans Fromm zahlreiche Aufsätze und Rezensionen verfaßt. Große Verdienste erwarb H. Fromm auch in der Förderung des finnougri- stischen Forschungen Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Die dem Jubilar gewidmeten 33 Aufsätze aus dem Gebiet der Linguistik, Literaturwissenschaft und Volkskunde von Forschern aus sieben Ländern sind Zeugnis für die Vielseitigkeit und Wirksamkeit Hans Fromms. Es werden im folgenden einige Aufsätze zur finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft besprochen.

Péter Hajdú: Über Versuche der Gruppierung der uralischen Sprache (49—64). Der Verfasser stellt zunächst den Klassifikationen jener Forscher (M. A. Castrén, P. Hunfalvy, O. Donner, A. Ahlqvist), die die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen mehr oder weniger nach ethnologischen oder historisch-geographischen Gesichtspunkten gruppierten, den Versuch von József Budenz (Über die Verzweigung der ugrischen Sprachen 1879) gegenüber, die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen nach rein lautlichen Merkmalen zu gruppieren. Diese Theorie wurde von der sog. Stammbaumtheorie verdrängt, die vor allem auf Grund der Ergebnisse der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft postuliert wurde. Die Stammbaumtheorie erklärt die Herausbildung der uralischen Sprachen als eine geradlinige

Entwicklung aus der Grundsprache durch mehrere Spaltungen in sekundäre Grundsprachen und weiter in die heutigen Einzelsprachen. Während nun gewisse sekundäre Grundsprachen (wie z. B. die baltofinnische-Grundsprache, das sog. Urfinnische, oder die permische Grundsprache, das Urpermische) auf Grund der engen Verwandtschaft der entsprechenden Einzelsprachen leicht rekonstruierbar sind, ergeben sich große Schwierigkeiten bei der Behandlung der von der Stammbaumtheorie postulierten frühurfinnisch-lappischen, protofinnisch-wolgaischen und ugrischen Grundsprachen. Die Rekonstruktion der frühurfinnisch-lappischen Grundsprache hält P. Hajdú derzeit für aussichtslos und die Annahme einer mordwinisch-erschermisch-Grundsprache für unnötig. Der Autor untersucht die postulierten lautlichen und morphologischen gemeingrischen Erscheinungen und weist auf die großen Schwierigkeiten einer Rekonstruktion der ugrischen Grundsprache hin und kommt schließlich zur Schlußfolgerung, daß die heute gängige Stammbaumtheorie den tatsächlichen Verhältnisse zwischen den verwandten Sprachen weder von genetischen noch vom typologischen Gesichtspunkt her gesehen völlig einwandfrei gesacht wird. Péter Hajdú schlägt eine alternative Klassifikation der uralischen Sprachen vor in der Skizze (fehlen leider einige zum vollen Verständnis notwendigen Erklärungen; auffallend ist das Fehlen der ugrischen, wolga-finnischen und frühurfinnischen Grundsprache). Zum Schluß schlägt Péter Hajdú vor, einen Fragebogen mit 150–200 Testfragen zur typologischen Einordnung und Beschreibung der uralischen Sprachen zu verfertigen. Der Autor hat für die Bereiche Phonologie, Morphologie und Morphologie Testfragen ausgearbeitet, die sind im Aufsatz abgedruckt.

Karl Bouda: Tschuktschisch und Uralisch III (29–36). Der Artikel enthält 40 Etymologien. Es werden tschuktschische, kamtschadalische und korjakische Wörter mit meist Vach-ostjakischen und jurak-samojedischen zusammengestellt.

Tibor Mikola: Zur Frage der Pluralzeichen im Juraksamojedischen (195–200). Der Verfasser behandelt die Herkunft des Nom. Pl., Akk. Pl. und Gen. Pl. im Jurakischen (*ḡuda* 'Hand', Nom. Pl.: *ḡuda*", Akk. Pl.: *ḡud'ĩ*, Gen. Pl.: *ḡud'ĩ*"). Nach der traditionellen Auffassung (Kövesi, Künnap) geht Nom.Pl. " (< *t) auf ein, ursprüngliches Kollektivsuffix zurück. Verlässliche Beispiele für das Kollektivsuffix *t* können jedoch nur aus dem Finnischen angeführt werden, unerklärlich bleibt auch, warum das Pluralzeichen (erklärt aus dem postulierten Kollektivsuffix) nur im Nom., jedoch nicht in den obliquen Kasus vorkommt. T. Mikola bespricht auch die Gegenhypothese von J. Balázs, der Nom. Pl. " (< *t) aus einem Koordinationspartikel erklärt. Das *t* hätte seine pluralische Bedeutung durch die Kongruenz zwischen Subjekt und Prädikat erlangt, darum konnte es ursprünglich nur im Nom. vorkommen. T. Mikola schließt sich dieser neuen Hypothese an. Akk. Pl. und Gen. Pl. enthalten ein *j (nach Itkonen mit dem ostseefinnischen *i* gleichen Ursprungs, ursprünglich Zeichen des Genitivs). T. Mikola nimmt an, daß von den zwei Genitivendungen des Samojedischen (*j*, *n*), das *j* sekundär die Funktion des Plurals übernahm. Durch analoge Wirkungen des Nom. Gen. und Akk. aufeinander kann das *j* des Akk. erklärt werden. Der Stimmbandverschluß im Gen. ist nach Meinung Mikolas höchstwahrscheinlich mit dem Stimmbandverschluß des Nom. identisch.

László Honti: Vokalwechsel in gegenwärtigen Surguter Mundarten des Ostjakischen (71–78). Der Autor hat in Leningrad zwei Surgut-ostjakische Dialekte (Dialekt am Fluß Pim, Dialekt in Tromagan) studiert und bereits früher Texte in diesen Mundarten veröffentlicht. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden die Vokalwechsel in Wortbildung und Paradigma dargestellt.

Anu-Reet Hausenberg: Intense Forms-Expressiva-Imitativy . . . (65–70). Der Autor dieses Beitrags versucht das terminologische Chaos im Bereich jener Wortgruppe zu lichten, die auf Grund

ihrer „emotional expressiveness“ in Phonologie und Morphologie vom Rest des Sprachgutes unterschieden ist. In der Forschung werden mehrere Untergruppen der Wörter mit 'emotional expressiveness' in den einzelnen Sprachen jeweils verschieden charakterisiert und bezeichnet; A. — R. Hausenberg schlägt einheitliche Überbegriffe für diese Wortgruppe vor: deutsch: *Expressiva*, ung.: *expresszív szavak*, russ.: *ekspressivnye slova*, estn.: *ekspressiivsõnad*.

Béla Kálmán: Das wogulische Schicksalslied (87—98). Es wurden bis jetzt etwa 110 wogulische Schicksalslieder von verschiedenen Forschern (Reguly, Munkácsi, Kannisto, Kálmán) aufgezeichnet und veröffentlicht. Der Autor versucht im vorliegenden Aufsatz die Gattung des wogulischen Schicksalsliedes (die Schicksalslieder bilden die lebendigste und persönlichste Dichtung der Obugrier) nach Form (Parallelismus, figura etymologica, Füllsilben usw.), Inhalt (Motive) und Entstehungsgeschichte (Improvisation, Tradition) zu charakterisieren. B. Kálmán behandelt und illustriert verschiedene Motive wie Natur, Liebe, Tod, Arbeit, Unterhaltung usw. Die Schicksalslieder umfassen die Totalität des wogulischen Lebens und drücken ewig menschliche Gefühle mit frischen Vergleichen und tiefem Mitgefühl aus, sie stehen den poetischen Leistungen anderer Völker um nichts nach.

György Lakó: Methodische Neuerungen und prinzipielle Stellungnahmen ungarischer Sprachforscher im 19. Jahrhundert (181—194). Der Aufsatz setzt sich mit einigen Gestalten und theoretischen Fragen der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert auseinander. Miklós Révai (1750—1807), der als J. Grimm der Ungarn gilt, bediente sich bei seinen Forschungen bereits der historischen Methode. Sein Werk „*Antiquitates Literaturae Hungaricae I*“ (Pest 1803) ist eine Monographie der sog. Leichenrede, dem ältesten ung. Sprachdenkmal gewidmet. Wichtig ist sein dreibändiges Werk „*Elaboratio Grammatica*

Hungarica“ (Pest 1803, 1805, 1908). M. Révai war sich bereits über die finnisch-ugrische Abstammung des Ungarischen im klaren. Szende Riedl (1831—1873), ein Freund August Schleichers war Professor für ungarische Sprache in Prag und später Dozent für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft in Pest. Seine Hauptwerke: „*Magyarische Grammatik*“ (Wien 1858), „*Magyar hangtan*“ (Prag—Leipzig 1859) und „*Magyar nyelvtan*“ (Pest 1864). Sz. Riedl faßte die Sprache bereits als System auf, die Vokalharmonie im Ungarischen erkannte er als eine Erscheinung, die auf der Opposition der palatalen und velaren Vokale basiert. Indem er auch die Distribution der ung. Verbalsuffixe untersuchte, war er ein Vorläufer des Strukturalismus. Pál Hunfalvy (1810—1891) betonte die Stellung der „*Lautgesetze*“ in der Finnougristik und stellte sich im Streit der Verfechter der finnisch-ugrischen bzw. der türkischen Abstammung des Ungarischen auf die Seite der Finnougristen. József Budenz (1836—1892) gilt als Begründer der vergleichenden finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft, bedeutend ist sein *Magyar—ugor összehasonlító szótár* (Budapest 1873—1881). J. Budenz stellte fest, daß nicht nur der Vergleich der verschiedenen Sprachen sondern auch deren Beschreibung äußerst wichtig ist und hält die Unterscheidung zwischen synchroner und diachroner Sprachwissenschaft für relevant. György Lakó hebt im Aufsatz hervor, daß verschiedene ungarische Sprachforscher der Vergangenheit, obwohl sie in Methode, Anschauung und Theorie zu den Bahnbrechern der internationalen Linguistik gehören, wegen verschiedener widriger Umstände ('kleines' Land—'kleine' Sprache, wenige Schüler) bis heute noch nicht entsprechend gewürdigt sind.

Hartmut Katz: *kainalo* (109—116). Der Verfasser verwirft das in MSzFE gegebene Rekonstrukt für finn. *kainalo* 'Achselhöhle' und seinen Entsprechungen in den verwandten Sprachen und rekonstruiert unter Heranziehung der bekannten finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Laut-

gesetze mit klarer Argumentation ein uralisches Kompositum **kaje(n)-ala* (*kaje-* 'Schulter', *ala* 'das Untere'; Gen. *-n* also uralisch). Außerdem zeigt H. Katz die Entwicklung des rekonstruierten Kompositums in einigen Einzelsprachen (Deety-mologisierung des Kompositums, Bedeutungsverlust des ersten Gliedes des Kompositums). Als Parallelfall für die Achselhöhle rekonstruiert der Verfasser ein urfennisch-ugrisches Kompositum für die Kinnlade: **ŋe-luwe* 'Mund-Knochen' > ostj. **ŋəl* ~ **uŋəl* ~ **oŋəl/wotj.* (Munk.) *anlās/tscher.* **oŋlas/?* ung. *áll.*

Jurij Aleksej Tambovcev: Experimentalphonetische Untersuchungen zum wogulischen Vokalismus (367—372). Gegenstand der Untersuchungen ist unter anderem die Sprache des berühmten wogulischen Dichters und Schriftstellers Juvan Šestalo, der den Norddialekt des Wogulischen spricht. Der Aufsatz besteht aus den Teilen: Die Distribution der Vokalphoneme im Wogulischen, Untersuchung der wogulischen Vokale mittels Röntgen Photographie, spektrale Charakteristika der akzentuierten zentral-hinteren Vokale des Wogulischen.

Magdolna Sz. Kispál: Das uralische Verbalnomensuffix **-m* im Ungarischen (Ein Beitrag zur ugrischen Morphologie und Syntax) (117—128). Im Artikel wird versucht, die Identität der ugrischen Gerundiumsuffixe (ung. *-va/-ve*, *-ván/-vén*, ostj. *-man* wog. **-ma*, **-me*) zu beweisen. Die Suffixe werden auf das uralische Verbalnomensuffix **-m* zurückgeführt. Die Verfasserin erklärt die lautgeschichtliche und morphologische Entwicklung in den Einzelsprachen und betont die syntaktischen Übereinstimmungen.

Folgende Aufsätze befassen sich mit ostseefinnischen Themen: Jorma Koivulehto: Baltisches und Germanisches im Finnischen: die finn. Stämme auf *-rte* und die finn. Sequenz *VrtV* (129—164), Ralf-Peter Ritter: Zur urostseefinnischen sog. langen Affrikata (295—300), Seppo Suhonen: Über die Beziehungen zwischen dem Finnischen und den estnischen Küsten-

dialekten (357—366), Tryggve Sköld: Finn. *raato* 'Aas, Luder, Kadaver' ein germanisches Lehnwort? (339—356).

Zwei Aufsätze behandeln Themen der estnischen Grammatik: Alo Raun: Introduction to Stress Groups in Estonian (269—294) und Feliks Vakk: Die semantische Übertragung und die Wege der Entstehung der estnischen Phraseologie (405—416).

Die Fennistik ist mit acht Beiträgen vertreten: Hervorzuheben ist der Beitrag von Wolfgang Raible: Sind die Freunde der finnischen Sprache zahllos — oder sind sie einfach nur ungebildet? Zum pluralischen Prädikatsnomen im Finnischen (221—268). Die finnische Übersetzung des Titels dieses Aufsatzes 'Ovatko suomen kielen ystävät lukemattomat vai ovatko vain eukemattomia?' macht die Problematik dieses Kapitels der finnischen Syntax anschaulich. Die zweifache morphologische Kennzeichnung (Partitiv oder Nominativ) des pluralischen Prädikatsnomen wird anhand einiger Arbeitsthesen des Kölner Universalien-Projekts (unter der Leitung von Hansjakob Seiler) untersucht und schließlich neu gewertet.

Weitere Beiträge befassen sich mit literarischen und ethnographischen Themen. Der interessante Aufsatz von Ulrich Groenke: Steingrímur Thorsteinsson und Alexander Petőfi (Eine isländisch-ungarische literarische Verbindung) (37—48) macht deutlich, daß der Kampf der Ungarn 1848/49 für nationale und soziale Befreiung vor allem bei Völkern, die sich selbst noch auf dem Weg zur Selbständigkeit befanden, auch auf literarischem Gebiet großes Echo fand.

Die Festschrift schließt mit einer Liste der Veröffentlichungen zur Finnougristik von Hans Fromm. Es bleibt zu hoffen, daß der auch nicht zuletzt in drucktechnischer Hinsicht schöne und gut ausgestattete Band auch als Vorbild für ähnliche ungarische Ausgaben dienen wird (zum Beispiel die kürzlich ausgefallenen Festschriften für György Lakó und Loránd Benkő, erschienen 1981 im Verfielfältigungsbetrieb der

Universität Budapest, die nicht einmal eine Photographie der Jubilare enthalten).

Die vorliegende Festschrift ist in jeder Hinsicht ein prächtiges Geburtstagsgeschenk.

Éva Fancsaly

R. Freudenstein (ed.): Language Learning. Individual Needs, Interdisciplinary Cooperation, Bi- and Multilingualism. The Lucerne Congress Report of the Fédération Internationale des Professeurs des Langues Vivantes. AIMAV. Didier, Brussels 1978.

The book under review consists of three parts and altogether 16 papers. The notional division of the book embraces the following major fields: need-analysis, interdisciplinary co-operation and the problems of the bi- and multilingualism. Although this division is devoid of a strict logical base, it can handle several very important problems of the contemporary situation of foreign language learning. As there is a learner-centered approach characteristic of the papers, individual needs (= communicational needs), have a prominent place. Three German papers as well as an English and a French one deal with individual needs, learning goals and the situational approach. Real life situations, of course, differ from learners' situations, yet teaching strategy should be applied to international mobility experienced in our times. Personal needs, communicative goals must, anyhow, harmonise with the needs of the employers. At the same time not all students are conscious of their needs. Needs can change during the course. All that increases the teacher's task in modern course design and teaching.

Jan. A. Van Ek published an excellent paper on "The Unit/Credit System As a Possible Link Between Various Forms of Teaching." In various member-states of the Council of Europe a sort of improved information and documentation is and/or has been needed. The unit/credit system in

itself is a sort of programming, in which teaching material is divided into "discrete parts" and thus the learner can be awarded one, two or more units' credit. This system evidently undergoes many changes in compulsory school education or motivated adult groups. A very important base of the whole "Lehrwerk" is the so-called "threshold level", as an invariant base of every further application. August Flammer and Werner Gutman analyse the process of individualization of the learner with the aid of selection, the differentiation of aims and learning duration; last but not least through different methods. In the educational intercourse the learner's decision-making can also be utilized: individualization as well as a technique of building up learners' couples or minor groups within the class. In our opinion, the role of individualized and individual instruction is a little exaggerated in this paper. The well-known expert of LSP, L. Hoffman makes an attempt at solving how to bridge over the gap between professional abilities and the field of interests. General and technical language training must be in a sound correlation in the school period and after it, too. Course design and goal analysis are activities permanently functioning under university trained professional guidance.

In the second part of the book we are presented various instances of interdisciplinary co-operation. No definition is even of the "pure" and/or "applied" sciences that are united to bring about an effective discipline. Thus, teaching literature raises a couple of problems concerning the double value of literature, first as a cultural background of the target language and second as a method for motivation and memory training. Rebecca M. Valette explores the basis of language testing examining how objective evaluation could be possible. Taking the anglicized word "transparency" the author emphasizes the requirement that the candidate should be familiar with the evaluation instrument so that he can check his or her own results.

Picking out the different variants of language tests this paper is a logical consequence of the earlier ones by the same author. J. Verrier takes a great leap forward in interdisciplinary concepts speaking of narrative structures, even of narratology. Reading and writing of literary texts can give much use even in modern language teaching. An article can be read about the use of media and media combinations as well. An interesting approach is made by Wragge-Lange, who analyses the transfer possibilities of the mother tongue for target languages laying stress on the pragmatic interferences between the two languages.

In the third part of the book problems of bi- and multilingualism are treated. Multilingual societies and language planning in them seems to be a permanent model for language teaching. Relations between linguistic minorities and the main speech-community raise questions of how to support mutual understanding over the language barriers. E. Koberski deals with the dismantling of resistance and prejudice in connection with multilingualism. Distinguishing linguistic and social phenomena, teaching strategy can start through conventional situations. Developing bilingualism in the classroom is a good approach if it is completed by social effects. An article on Switzerland and another one on Italy emphasize organization and planning in the school system of any European country. Foreign language teaching should be developed in the countries of the European Economic Community, as it says in a well-composed contribution by F. J. Zapp.

It is in the middle of the book where we meet first James E. Alatis' paper in which language and culture, universalism and specialization, new barbarians and modern scholars are matched and critically analysed. In his definition culture is "the essential system of ideas concerning the world and man, which belong to our time." The study of language cuts across the interests of many fields. Sociolinguistics is

one of the basic interdisciplinary underlying the theory of language teaching. J. Alatis lists all the phases of the development of language teaching theory in the recent times emphasizing the importance of co-operation between anthropologists, linguists and philosophers, and without neglecting even such psychological works as Eric Berne's "Games People Play". Communicative competence is the underlying aim of any strategy.

Taking into consideration the activities of FIPLV as well as its earlier conferences, and among them the Budapest conference too, we can acknowledge the merits of the editor R. Freudenstein. Although the three parts do not have a strict logical cohesion, theoretical and practical issues are not always linked in a systematic way, some of the papers are mere descriptions of social phenomena, all in all the book gives us a great deal of valuable information in the field of applied linguistics, language planning and general cultural and educational problems.

E. Fülei-Szántó

Н. И. Терешкин: Словарь восточнохантыйских диалектов. Наука, Ленинград 1981, 541 S.

In den vergangenen Jahrzehnten sind zwei Wörterbücher mit umfangreichem ostjakischem lexikalischem Material aus verschiedenen Mundarten erschienen. Das eine enthält die Ergebnisse der Forschungsreise Paasonens nach Sibirien (H. Paasonens Ostjakisches Wörterbuch nach den Dialekten an der Konda und am Jugan. Zusammengestellt, neu transkribiert und herausgegeben von Kai Donner. LSFU II. Helsingfors 1926 [= PD]), das andere ist Karjalainens einmalige Sammlung (K. F. Karjalainens Ostjakisches Wörterbuch, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Y. H. Toivonen. LSFU X/I—II. Helsinki 1948 [= KT]). Diese Wörterbücher und die aus

ihrem Material noch vor der Veröffentlichung publizierten Angaben sind zu besonders wichtige Quellen der etymologischen Bearbeitung des ostjakischen Wortschatzes, der Lautgeschichte und dadurch der Untersuchungen verschiedener Art in der Uralistik geworden. Es genügt in diesem Zusammenhang auf die große Studie Toivonens Über die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Ostjakischen (FUF 3: 1–169), W. Steinitz' Geschichte des ostjakischen Vokalismus (Berlin 1950) und das von ihm initiierte großartige Werk Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache (Berlin 1966– [= DEWOS]) hinzuweisen. Inzwischen sind Wörterverzeichnisse, Textsammlungen und Monographien über einige Mundarten erschienen, die jetzt zu besprechende Arbeit von N. I. Terëškin wird sich jedoch als ein Meilenstein in der Bekanntmachung der ostjakischen Dialekte erweisen.

Einem Vorwort bescheidenen Umfangs (Предисловие, 3–6) und den Informationen über den Aufbau des Wörterbuches (О строении словаря, 7–10) folgt das von Terëškin gesammelte lexikalische Material von 530 maschinengeschriebenen und mit Offsetdruck vervielfältigten Seiten.

Im Vorwort wird ein kurzer Überblick über die genetischen Verbindungen des Ostjakischen, die Wohnorte und die Zahl des Ostjakentums nach den Angaben der Volkszählung 1970 gegeben: 68,9% der 21 000 Ostjaken hat das Ostjakische für seine Muttersprache erklärt und 48,1% aller Ostjaken spricht fließend russisch. Zur Zeit haben vier Mundarten Schriftlichkeit, im Osten die Mundart am Vach und die im Surguter Kreis, im Westen die in der Gegend vom Kazym und die in Šuryškary. Auch Lehrbücher für die sog. Vorbereitungsklasse und die erste Klasse der Grundschule werden in diesen Mundarten herausgegeben (es lohnt sich hier zu bemerken, daß eben Terëškin die Lehrbücher für die Ostostjaken zusammengestellt hat). Der im Wörterbuch mitgeteilte Wortschatz wurde 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958 in Sibirien gesammelt und unter

Mitwirkung von in Leningrad lernenden ostjakischen Studenten ergänzt.

Das Wörterbuch umfaßt drei Dialekte im ostjakischen Sprachraum:

a) Die Mundart an den Flüssen Vach (= V) und Vasjagan (= Vj.), die eigentlich zwei Untertypen an den zwei Flüssen darstellt. Die Zweiteilung ist vorwiegend phonetischen Charakters. Die Fortsetzungen der Sibilanten *s, *š der uralischen und finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache haben anlautend unterschiedliche Vertreter: V l, Vj. Ø vor i, sonst j; in anderen Stellungen einheitlich: V l, Vj. l.

b) Die sog. Surguter Mundarten an den Flüssen Agan (= Ag.), Tremjagan (= Trj.), Pim (= P), Jugan (= J) bzw. in der Gegend der Mündung vom Agan (= U-Ag.) und Jugan (= U-J). Im Surguter Dialekt sind die erwähnten grundsprachlichen Konsonanten überall durch ɹ (spirantisches Lateral, bei Terëškin: ž) vertreten.

c) Der Dialekt am Salym (= Sal.), in dem *s und *š sind zu t geworden, genauso wie im südlichen Dialekt am Irtyš und dessen Nebenflüssen. Terëškin berichtet auch darüber, daß Sal. zwei Varianten hat, deren Sprecher heutzutage schon untereinander vermischt leben.

Terëškin teilt diese drei Gruppen in zwei Einheiten ein, in eine südöstliche (VVj.) und eine nordöstliche (Sur. Sal.). Um diese Gruppierung zu begründen, erwähnt er, die palatovelare Vokalharmonie und die ergative Satzkonstruktion seien für die erste charakteristisch. Was den erst genannten Grund betrifft, scheint er recht zu haben, wenn die gegen die Jahrhundertwende von Karjalainen und Paasonen untersuchten Surguter Mundarten außer Acht gelassen werden, da die Vokalharmonie bis zu unseren Tagen wohl auf dem ganzen Surguter Dialektgebiet verschwunden ist. Der zweite Grund trifft überhaupt nicht zu, ergative Konstruktionen kommen nämlich auch in Sur. vor, wie das sowohl in Terëškins Lehrbücher als auch in dem zu besprechenden Wörterbuch belegt wird, z. B. Ag. *kučyomna*

jənmam ləjəttəy 'внук меня здорово обхитрил' (S. 232). Weiterhin gibt es auch Züge, die für VVj. und Sur. gemeinsam sind, die aber in Sal. fehlen, wie z. B. der paradigmatische Vokalwechsel in VVj. und Sur. Es kann aber hier bemerkt werden, daß die Possessivsuffixe Sg 1, 2 nach konsonantisch auslautenden Nominalstämmen in der Regel einen *a* Vokal als „Vorlaut“, d. h. Bindevokal enthalten, dessen Auftreten anstelle des in diesen Suffixen ursprünglichen Engvokals der Auslöser des paradigmatischen Vokalwechsels im nominalen Bereich war. So ist also die Voraussetzung des Zustandekommens des Wechsels auch in Sal. nachzuweisen, welcher Umstand ohne Zweifel Sal. dem Ostgebiet anschließt, andererseits hat der durch Dissimilation zwischen dem Vokal der ersten und dem der zweiten Silbe entstandene paradigmatische Vokalwechsel Sal. nicht mehr erreicht, was seinerseits Sal. von den übrigen Ostdialekten absondert. Aufgrund auch vieler anderer Eigentümlichkeiten halte ich für zweckmäßiger und begründet, die Ostdialekte in drei Gruppen einzuteilen: VVj.—Sur.—Sal.

Die Prinzipien des Aufbaus des Wörterbuches werden in 18 Punkten vorgestellt. Es würde sich lohnen, sämtliche zu zitieren, um ein klares Bild über das Wörterbuch geben zu können. Da es jedoch unmöglich ist, erwähne ich nur einige von ihnen und falls es nötig ist, füge ich Kommentare hinzu.

Die lexikalischen Einheiten (Lexeme) werden in selbständigen Wortartikeln in enger alphabetischer Ordnung mitgeteilt, die also von der Toivonen—Steinitz-schen Tradition abweicht, die in erster Linie die Konsonanten beachtet. Die Reihenfolge der Mundarten ist: V Vj. Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. Bei den Komposita und Beispielsätzen fehlen oft die Abkürzungen der Mundarten, und nur ziemlich selten können Kriterien vorgefunden werden, die ermöglichen, die mundartliche Zugehörigkeit solcher Angaben zu bestimmen. Im Wörterbuch habe ich bedauerlicherweise wenige Angaben aus der Mund-

art am Pim gefunden (z. B. *kūšmī* 'обруч' 132, *kūnti* 'дворяжка' 134, *kilek* 'болотный кулик' 137, *təpləjətti* 'целовать' 495, *tisti* 'жалеть' 469). Ab und zu werden Lexeme von dem Prinzip abweichend von dem eigentlichen Stichwort getrennt angeführt, z. B. gehört Sal. *tūnam* 'другой, особый' (482) zu *tūnam* 'он сам собой' (220), Sal. *kišan* 'для' (114) zu *kiša* 'на, для' (109) (geschweige von dem Umstand, daß *kišan* eine verfehlte Rückbildung aus den possessivsuffigierten Formen dieser Postposition ist, wo *η* als Hiatusstiller funktioniert), weiterhin ist Sal. *kotta* 'ночевать' (175) unnützlicherweise als selbständiges Stichwort aufgenommen, es steht ja schon richtig unter *kalta* (143).

Die Lexeme werden wie in praktischen zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern angeführt. Es wäre vielleicht etwas zweckmäßiger gewesen, die (etymologisch) zusammengehörenden Lexeme unter einem Stichwort, in einem Wortartikel anzuführen, und sie voneinander innerhalb des Wortartikels zu trennen. So kann es vorkommen, daß ein Derivat und dessen Grundwort sehr fern voneinander stehen, wie, z. B. Vj. *jōnəmta* 'наступать — о лере' (82) und V *lōn*, Vj. *jōn* usw. 'лере' (216), und ein Benutzer des Wörterbuches, der mit den ostjakischen Mundarten weniger vertraut ist, kann nur mit Mühe und Not (wenn überhaupt) die zusammengehörenden Angaben entdecken.

Die Komposita, idiomatischen Ausdrücke und Beispielsätze werden nach den Stichwörtern angeführt. Wenn die Angaben mehr oder weniger voneinander abweichende Bedeutungen haben, werden sie durch arabische Ziffern getrennt. Die komplizierten Ausdrücke werden oft auch wortwörtlich gedeutet. Das ist in der Tat sehr nützlich, der Verfasser hätte aber noch öfters so verfahren können, z. B. Ag. *tunke pəy kəttəm ləkə* 'млечный путь' (236): 'der vom Sohn des Schutzgeistes belaufene Weg', Vj. *torəm pəy nōy nuytəm lək* (3: ... *nuytəm lək*) 'Зодиак или Млечный путь' (472): 'der Weg, auf dem der Himmelssohn das Elentier nach-

jagte'. Wenn es nützlich ist, gibt Terëškin auch sachliche Erläuterungen, z. B. unter *jaytiwjuj* (61).

Wie es bereits zur Sprache kam, ist der paradigmatische Vokalwechsel im Osten bis auf Sal. allgemein. Er wird im Wörterbuch meistens durch Nomina mit Possessivsuffix Sg I bzw. finite Verbformen im Imperativ oder Präteritum mit Ø-Tempussuffix veranschaulicht. Dies ist u. a. deshalb von Belang, da so leicht entschieden werden kann, ob der Vokal in der ersten Silbe auf */ɔ/*ʝ bzw. */o/*ö zurückgeht. In einigen Fällen scheinen aber die Wechselformen beim Schreibtisch konstruiert zu sein, z. B. VVj. *jõnk* (~ V *jũnkəm*), Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *jeŋk* (~ *jĩnkəm*) 'вода' (85), VVj. Ag. Trj. *sort* (~ *surtəm*) 'четверь' (435), in den bisherigen Sammlungen sind aber eindeutig die Vertretungen der urostjakischen mittelweiten Vokale *ö und *o für diese Wörter belegt. Genauso unwahrscheinlich (aber aus anderen Gründen) sind die Imperativformen *mõta* und *põmla* statt *mãta* und *pũmla* zu U-Ag. Trj. J U-J *mãtta* 'варить' (248) und J U-J *pũmãtta* 'греться' (391). — Terëškin charakterisiert seine Transkription als phonematisch und der in der Finnougristik gebräuchlichen nahe stehend (9), an einer anderen Stelle kann aber die Transkription als auf die phonetische Qualifizierung der Schreibweise hinweisend aufgefaßt werden (Punkt 4, S. 5). In Wirklichkeit liegt sie irgendwo zwischen den genannten beiden Transkriptionen, denn Terëškin schreibt VVj. *õ* und *ũ*, obwohl er in seiner Monographie über die Vach-Mundart mit einem ö-Phonem rechnet (Очерки диалектов хантыйского языка. Часть первая. Ваховский диалект. Москва — Ленинград 1961. 5 ff.); *ũ* tritt neben Palatovelaren und *w*, *õ* anderswo auf, z. B. V. *jõtä*, Vj. *jõntä* (~ VVj. *jũtä*, *jũwəl*) 'идти' (87, 539), widersprechende Bezeichnungsweise kommt nur selten vor, z. B. VVj. *nõjãtä* 'качаться' (292), V *pũnt* 'колтун' (387). — In den Sur.-Mundarten wird der Vertreter des urostj. *ay durch *äy* in Trj. und meistens nur durch *ay* in den übrigen Mundarten wiedergegeben, während die

Fortsetzung von *an in Trj. ist bald durch *an*, bald durch *äy* geschrieben. Auch in J von Paasonen ist eine Schwankung *ä* ~ *a* anzutreffen, da sie aber als Widerspiegelung eines Lautwandels im Gange die fakultative Varianten eines Phonems sind, sollten sie durch einen Buchstaben bezeichnet werden. Ziemlich konsequent wird die Fortsetzung von *ä durch *ä* in U-Ag. J U-J bzw. durch *a* in Ag. Trj. bezeichnet; sie können mehr oder weniger palatal sein, phonematisch haben wir aber auf dem ganzen Surguter Dialektgebiet mit *ä* zu tun. Eine ähnliche Situation ist auch in Sal. zu beobachten: *a*, *ä* (< *ä); in Kenntnis der Lautgeschichte und der benachbarten Mundarten kann mit großer Sicherheit darauf gefolgert werden, daß es auch hier um ein einziges Phonem, *ä* geht. Die Doppelformen mit *a* und *ä* bzw. wie *lak*^o und *lök* (phonematisch: *läkə*, *lok*) 'догора' (236) lassen uns darauf schließen, daß sie die zwei Varianten der Sal.-Mundart repräsentieren. — Auch *k* und *k̆* in VVj. Sur. sind keine selbständigen Phoneme, das erstere kommt in palataler, das letztere in velarer Umgebung vor (dies trifft nur für die jüngsten russischen Lehnwörter nicht zu, die eine gewisse Zeit brauchen, um sich an das Lautsystem anpassen zu können); infolge von Phonemspaltungen sind aber *k* und *k̆* in Sal. entstanden: *ka/*ko- > *kə*-, *kš- > *ko*- usw. — Nach Terëškin seien die labialisierten Palatovelare keine Phoneme (10). Es wäre nicht leicht, dieser Behauptung beizupflichten, vgl. Sur. Sal. (*äy >) *äy* ~ (*oy >) *äy*, trotz der Tatsache, daß die Schwankung *y* ~ *yə* (>) ~ *w* relativ verbreitet ist.

Der größte Nutzen des Wörterbuches liegt m. E. darin, daß es sehr wertvolle Informationen über die bisher kaum oder überhaupt nicht erforschten Mundarten Ag. U-Ag. U-J Sal. enthält. — Es bietet Anhaltspunkte auch zu bisher ungelösten Fragen an, z. B. war die Beziehung zwischen Vj. *kač*-, Trj. *káč*- 'heiß werden' ~ Vj. *kačə*-, Trj. *káčə*- 'warm machen' (so DEWOS 427) unbegreiflich, obwohl sich sie aus Karjalainens Schreibweise aus-

gehend hätte erklären lassen, er hat nämlich in finiten Formen des letzteren Verbs auch halblange Affrikate geschrieben: Vj. $k'atšə$ ~ $k'atšə$ (Imp), Trj. $k'atšə$ (PartPrät) ~ $k'atšə$ (Prät) (KT 348—349); und nun die Belege bei Terëškin: Vj. $k'atša$, Trj. $k'atša$ 'реть' ~ Vj. $k'atšəta$, Trj. $k'atšəta$ 'наревать' (146); das zweite Verb ist also eine durch Kausativsuffix *tə* erweiterte Form des Stammes *kač-*, *káč-*, und die gemeinsame Realisierung der Verbindung von *č* + *t* ist i. A. eine (halb)lange Affrikate, die in VVj. Sur. auch verkürzt vorkommen kann. — Das *ü* in Sur. wurde von Terëškin ab und zu als kurzes *ü* apperzipiiert: U-J *ütta* 'прыгаты' (57), U-Ag. *nütta* 'видеться' (287), aber U-Ag. *nütta* 'показываться' (294), also richtig: *ütta*, *nütta*. — Die Vokalentsprechungen im Wort für 'Enkelkind; внук' sind, wie bekannt, unregelmäßig: VVj. $k'aləy$ (~ $k'iləy$), Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J $k'atəy$ (~ $k'itəy$) Sal. $k'etə$ (!) (143), DN $χetə$ usw. (KT 368—369), die Formen Trj. $k'otək'kən$ (NomDu) (12), Ag. $k'utəyənə$ (PxSglLoc) (232) können aber nicht richtig sein (*o* → *ä*, *u* → *ü*). — Ab und zu sind in Beispielsätzen fehlerhafte Angaben angeführt, z. B. Vj. $lūy$ 'он' (325), richtig: $jūy$ (219), Vj. lul 'por' (515), richtig: jul (218). — Einige gewiß fehlerhafte Angaben sind ohne Verbesserung der Vach-Monographie übernommen: $səyətä$ 'мотать' (444), lop ~ $lāwam$ 'мотать' (212), in Kenntnis der morphologischen Regeln richtig: $səyitä$, lop ~ $lopam$: dagegen ist der verfehlt beim Schreibtisch aus Imperativ rückgebildete Infinitiv $miltä$ weggelassen und nur das richtige $mältä$ 'шупать' (245) aufgenommen. — Die Infinitivformen P $tisti$ 'жалеть' (469), $təptəlyətti$ 'целовать' (495) sind in *-ta* auszubessern. — Es werden im Wörterbuch im Osten bisher nicht belegte Angaben angeführt, z. B. J U-J Sal. $notta$ 'сводить девушку с парнем; помогать' (289), vgl. DEWOS 1023.

Schade, daß manche Lexeme als Stichwörter nicht aufgenommen sind, z. B. der Name des Flusses Salym: Sal. $sotəm$ (52), $sotəmyən$ (NomDu) (62), obwohl andere

Flußnamen vorkommen, z. B. Sal. $kāram$ 'Карым' (157); weiterhin fehlen Sal. $k'a$ 'если' (281), das ich als Tra. $kā$ aufzeichnete und V $čiči$ (15), s. aber DEWOS 242. — Im Vorwort wird festgestellt, daß die internationalen Wörter und die jüngeren russischen Lehnwörter nicht aufgenommen worden sind, V Ag. U-Ag. Trj. J U-J Sal. $plan$ 'план' (367) bildet jedoch ein Stichwort, dagegen sind die im Alltagsleben der Ostjaken wenigstens so wichtigen J $škola$ (: $š.ya$ 81) < *школа*, V $jəpkā$ (: $j.l$ 83) < *юбка*, Sal. i (85) < *u* weggelassen.

Ein sehr wichtiges und wertvolles Werk ist Terëškins Wörterbuch, auf welches uns wir in der Zukunft bestimmt oft berufen werden. Es hätte an Wert aber viel gewonnen, wenn der Verfasser die Personalien (Alter, Wohnort, Geschlecht, Beruf, Ursprungsdorf des Ehemannes bzw. der Ehefrau usw.) der Gewährspersonen (vgl. M. A. Бородин: Взаимодействие лингвистических ареалов. 1980, 10) angegeben und eine detaillierte Karte über die Verbreitung der Ostmundarten hinzugefügt hätte.

Wir hatten bereits vorher erfahren, daß dieses Wörterbuch in Vorbereitung war (SFU 14, 57) bzw. daß das Wörterbuch der westostjakischen Mundarten in Vorbereitung ist (s. a. a. O. und S. 5 im Wörterbuch). Hoffentlich wird also diese Arbeit fortgesetzt werden, die Finnougriken hoffen ja auch noch, daß der Monographie über die Vach-Mundart weitere Arbeiten folgen, was auch ihr Haupttitel „Очерки диалектов...“ (s. oben) verspricht...

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß N. I. Terëškin, der selbst das Ostjakische als Muttersprache spricht, der beste Kenner der ostjakischen Mundarten, Volksdichtung und des Volkslebens ist, von dem noch zahlreiche Arbeiten zu erwarten sind. Es ist klar, daß auch das eben besprochene Wörterbuch eine hervorragende Leistung der sowjetischen Finnougrik ist trotz einiger Schwächen, die aber meistens dem technischen Verfahren zuzuschreiben sind. Ich meine, wir können uns trotz der

erwähnten Unzulänglichkeiten über das Wörterbuch der ostostjakischen Dialekte freuen und dem Verfasser dafür dankbar sein.

L. Honti

Giuseppe Francescato, Il bilingue isolato. Studi sul bilinguismo infantile. Minerva Italica, 1981, 336 стр.

Монография Джузеппе Франческато «Изолированный двуязычный»-двенадцатая по счету книга в серии «Biblioteca del professore di lingue», редактируемая профессором Венецианского университета Джованни Фредди. Вступительное слово к этой книге также написано им.

Профессор Триестского университета (Италия) Джузеппе Франческато уже много лет занимается социолингвистическими и психолингвистическими вопросами двуязычия. В своем новом произведении автор уделяет особое внимание социально-психологическому аспекту детского индивидуального двуязычия, вопросу, сравнительно мало изученному в специальной литературе.

За последние годы научный и общественный интерес к явлению билингвизма заметно усилился. В любом одноязычном обществе всегда были люди другой национальности, которые по каким-либо причинам временно или навсегда поселились в стране с чужим для них языком, культурой, обычаями. И сегодня мы тоже являемся свидетелями процесса внешней миграции населения. Безусловно, в его основе лежит множество причин, в частности, экономические, например, поиск работы. Однако приток чужих пополняется и за счет участившегося за последнее время явления смешанных браков. Как бы то ни было, но в одноязычном обществе есть часть взрослых и детей, которые плохо или совсем не владеют языком принявшей их страны. На страницах научных журналов можно часто встретить работы, посвященные психолингвистическому аспекту процесса овладения вторым языком как взрослыми-иностранцами, так и детьми. Однако

анализ социальной адаптации таких индивидов, процессу приспособления их к одноязычным первичным группам, специальная литература практически обходила стороной. Восполнить этот пробел — нарисовать социально-психологический портрет двуязычного индивида и призвана книга Джузеппе Франческато «Изолированный двуязычный».

Автор собрал и анализирует с лингвистической, психологической и социально-психологической сторон 106 случаев индивидуального детского билингвизма. Дети овладевали двумя языками до подросткового возраста спонтанным образом, т.е. при непосредственном общении с носителями данного языка. Для изучения условий ОВЛАДЕНИЯ языками и степени их знания автор применил анкетный метод и интервью. Анкета содержала вопросы, касающиеся структуры семьи, использования языков в семье, степени владения обоими языками как родителями, так и ребенком, языковой интерференции и т.д. Группа вопросов была направлена на выяснение возможных трудностей при употреблении языков как в письменном, так и в устном виде, на психические проблемы, связанные с поступлением двуязычного ребенка в школу, вхождения его в коллектив, с адаптацией к новым условиям. Информантами частично были сами двуязычные, которые вспоминали о своем двуязычном детстве, а частично родители детей, родственники, иногда знакомые.

В 106 случаях двуязычия, описание которых кратко приводится в конце книги, можно найти индивидуумов, овладевших двумя самыми разными языками, например, итальянским и голландским, итальянским и французским, голландским и португальским. Эти люди вырастали или в двуязычных семьях, в таких как немецко-русская, греко-итальянская, или же происходили из одноязычных семей, переселившихся за границу. Условия, при которых они стали двуязычными, варьировались в широких пределах. Все 106 языковых биографий автор разбивает на

две большие группы. К первой относится почти половина детей, которые выростали в двуязычных, смешанных семьях. В них оба языка использовались в общении с детьми параллельно. Другая половина детей начинала овладевать вторым языком тогда, когда первый язык был усвоен ими уже на каком-то уровне. Все семьи представляли собой т.н. средний класс общества.

Что же общего и каковы различия в формировании двуязычия у детей, происходящих из смешанных семей и из одноязычных семей, живущих за границей?

Как пишет Франческато, с точки зрения одноязычного общества данной страны и смешанная семья, в которой для общения используются два языка, и одноязычная семья, переселившаяся из другого государства, представляют собой своего рода аберрацию, отклонение от нормы. Действительно, для носителей языка данной страны кажется странным, что есть люди, живущие рядом с ними, которые умеют говорить на непонятном им языке и часто пользуются странными обычаями.

Языком страны, в которой живет смешанная семья, на уровне родного обычно владеет отец ребенка. Знание матерью второго языка может изменяться в широких пределах: от полного незнания до отличного. При общении родителей между собой, а также с ребенком есть множество стратегий использования обоих языков. Однако в семьях, изученных Франческато, принцип общения с ребенком: «одно лицо — один язык» не соблюдался. Таким образом, родители не придерживались строго своей роли с точки зрения употребления языков при общении с ребенком.

В смешанных семьях мать живет в постоянно нервном напряжении и с чувством какой-то раздвоенности; с одной стороны, она стремится сохранить свой язык и передать его ребенку, с другой стороны, ей необходимо выучить язык принявшей страны, чтобы адаптироваться к новому социальному окружению. Чем больше она погружается в жизнь и культуру другого народа, чем активнее ее деятельность и использование иностранного языка, тем

уже становится сфера приложения родного языка, ограниченнее его функция. Матери приходится делать над собой усилие, чтобы выразить себя на родном языке, не включая слов и выражений иностранного языка. Поэтому очень часто матери выбирают более легкий путь — и с ребенком дома говорят на языке окружения. Как пишет Франческато, в годы обучения ребенка в школе домашнее задание ему помогает делать тот из родителей, который владеет языком принявшей страны. По мнению автора этот родитель в глазах ребенка становится «психологически более значимым» по сравнению с другим. «Менее значимый родитель» оттесняется на второй план, а вместе с ним и его язык. Несмотря на то, что у ребенка казалось бы есть возможности овладеть двумя языками на отцовском и материнском уровне, совсем не обязательно, что он останется двуязычным на долгое время.

У 44 детей из 50 смешанных семей, которые сначала были двуязычными, со временем язык окружения стал сильно доминировать, а иногда практически вытеснял другой язык из употребления. Если же индивид становится двуязычным, то его дети — третье поколение — теряют один из языков. Внуки становятся одноязычными.

Автор отмечает несколько причин, ведущих к снижению уровня знания языка матери или же к его полной утрате. Во-первых, это сильное языковое давление со стороны окружающей среды, с которым мать в одиночку часто бессильна бороться, во-вторых, низкий социо-культурный уровень семьи, который часто приводит не к формированию билингвизма, а диглоссии, в результате которой ребенок не овладевает ни литературной формой языка матери, ни чтением, ни письмом на нем. Третья причина. Родители не прилагают усилий, чтобы создать в семье такие коммуникативные ситуации, в которых ребенок мог бы не только слышать язык матери, но и овладевать им. Как отмечает Франческато, из 50 случаев только в трех семьях родители сознавали важность создания условий для интенсивного общения с ребенком на

языке матери. В одном случае родители ребенка были доцентами университета, во втором случае отец — языковед, а в третьем мать — психолог.

С точки зрения формирования билингвизма и уровня знания языка окружения в более благоприятном положении оказываются дети из одноязычных семей. Дома семья общается на своем родном языке, а ребенок овладевает вторым языком «прямым методом» при непосредственном общении с носителями языка окружения. Родители не помогают ребенку при приготовлении школьных домашних заданий, поскольку они плохо владеют языком принявшей страны, а вследствие этого не создается и «психологической напряженности», связанной с предпочтением одного из родителей. Как правило, дети из таких семей надолго сохраняют два языка общения, а их дети — третье поколение — воспитывается часто уже в семейных двуязычных условиях, правда, они не всегда овладевают языком своих прапородителей. Таким образом, у языка прапородителей есть возможность сохраниться намного дольше, чем в условиях смешанных браков.

«Даром» ли обходится ребенку овладение вторым языком или же за его знание он должен расплачиваться? Влияет ли на развитие психики ребенка и на формирование его личности раннее овладение вторым языком, знакомство с обычаями и культурой другого народа? Проанализировав языковые биографии 85 двуязычных индивидов, Франческато отмечает, что в 52 случаях никаких нарушений в психическом развитии ребенка не наблюдалось, причем, в 27 случаях дети выросли в двуязычной семье, в 25 случаях — в одноязычной семье, живущей за границей. (Из 106 проанализированных языковых биографий о 21 случае данных о психическом развитии детей автором не приводится.) У 33 двуязычных в детском возрасте были обнаружены расстройства психического характера и во многих этих случаях родителям пришлось обращаться за помощью к психологу, психиатру или врачу. В 17 случаях психически травмированные дети

происходили из двуязычных семей, в 16 — из одноязычных. Какие же типичные формы психических расстройств наблюдались у двуязычных? И вызваны ли они непосредственно самим явлением двуязычия?

В школьные годы у двуязычных детей из смешанных семей может проявляться психическая лабильность, эмоциональная неустойчивость. Автор объясняет это явление тем, что в двуязычном ребенке не прекращается борьба за выбор языка, ведь он поставлен перед дилеммой: принять или отклонить язык матери. Поскольку для двуязычных детей в смешанных семьях не создается ситуаций, в которых постоянно и однозначно используется только один из языков, то это приводит у них к «смещиванию двух миров», к наложению картин двух миров.

Совершенно другая ситуация наблюдается у двуязычных детей, происходящих из одноязычных семей. Сфера приложения обоих языков у них четко разграничивается. В школе, на улице используется один язык, дома, в общении с родителями — другой. В подтверждение такой четкости разделения картин мира Франческато приводит пример своих детей. Находясь в Голландии, в семейной обстановке дети говорили с родителями по-итальянски, в школе со знакомыми — по-голландски. Практически никогда не создавалось таких ситуаций, в которых они говорили бы с отцом по-голландски. Дети не насмехались и не потешались над плохим знанием голландского языка родителей, по всей видимости, признавая за иностранцами право плохого владения языком принявшей страны. Вот такая ситуация, в которой четко разделяются два языка и сферы их приложения, по мнению Франческато, более естественная и нормальная, чем та, которая складывается в смешанных семьях, и она более приемлема для формирования эффективного балансного двуязычия.

Однако психика у таких двуязычных может быть травмирована намного сильнее, чем у двуязычных из смешанных семей. Фрустрацию в ребенке может вызвать

чувство своей неуверенности в использовании языка окружения или же его плохое знание, а также чувство стыда за своих родителей, которые говорят с акцентом на языке принявшей страны. Ответом на фрустрацию могут быть проявления эмоциональной неустойчивости, замкнутости или же агрессии.

И все же ни Франческато, ни специалисты, к которым обращались за помощью родители двуязычных, выраставших в семьях обоих типов, не считали первопричиной психических расстройств именно само явление двуязычия. При ближайшем знакомстве с такими семьями оказалось, что в них не было гармонии, что между родителями царила неурядица, возникали ссоры. В некоторых семьях дети росли физически слабыми, часто и подолгу болели. Поэтому на вопрос — каково влияние самого явления двуязычия на формирование личности ребенка — однозначно ответить не представляется возможным. Ведь во многих случаях нельзя решить чем вызвана, например, эмоциональная неустойчивость ребенка: то ли она детерминирована врожденными особенностями его нервной системы, то ли он становится таким под воздействием неблагоприятной семейной атмосферы, воспитательных родительских установок? А может, само двуязычие дает такой эффект? Вопрос пока открыт.

Во всяком случае Франческато отмечает, что двуязычные дети, особенно школьники из одноязычных семей, чувствительно, болезненно реагируют на проявления членов одноязычной группы в отношении их уровня знания языка и происхождения. Заклеймленные кличками *spaghetti*, *macaroni*, *Mussolini* они чувствуют, что члены группы противятся их участию в ней, отталкивают их от себя, не считают их «своими». Противоречия, возникающие в двуязычных, между желанием, потребностью стать полноправным членом группы, найти в ней своё место, и чувством ущемленности, неполноценности, формирующимся вследствие отталкивающих реакций группы, могут стать причиной внутренних конфликтов, иногда неврозов. Такого рода

внутренние конфликты могут разрешаться у них по-разному, в зависимости от индивидуальных особенностей: одни замыкаются, отчуждаются, уходят в себя, другие становятся агрессивными или оппортунистами. Не находя возможностей стать полноправным членом группы, некоторые двуязычные сближаются с себе подобными двуязычными или же с одноязычными, занимающими маргинальный статус в обществе. В такой обособленной группе они чувствуют себя намного лучше, ведь все они отвержены, не приняты одноязычным обществом в силу своей неполноценности.

Здесь, на мой взгляд, мы подошли к одному из центральных положений монографии — вопросу изолированный двуязычный. Что вкладывает в это понятие Франческато? Почему индивидуальный билингвизм приводит к изоляции, отчуждению?

Франческато пишет: «двуязычие по своей природе — индивидуальное явление, которое реализуется в языковом поведении двуязычного индивида» (стр. 289) ... и «вовлекает всю личность говорящего» (стр. 335). Сам по себе индивидуальный билингвизм — явление неизолированное, однако двуязычный как индивид изолирован, отчужден, потому что он чувствует себя потерянным, оторванным от общества, говорящего на одном языке и плохо приспособившемся к обществу, говорящему на другом языке. На формирование таких чувств в двуязычном влияет аттитюд к «чужим», господствующий в данном одноязычном обществе. Между субъективным отношением к двуязычному, «к человеку не нашего круга» и общественным мнением существует тесная двусторонняя динамическая связь: одно мнение формируется под влиянием другого.

Как отмечает Франческато, ребенок с успехом может овладеть двумя и даже более языками, однако позитивное влияние двуязычия в конечном счете определяется теми установками, аттитюдами и общественным мнением, которые характерны для данного одноязычного общества.

На мой взгляд монография Джузеппе Франческато «Изолированный двуязычный»

представляет собой своего рода психологическое эссе. Рисуя социально-психологический портрет двуязычного индивида, автор прежде всего опирается на свои чувства и личный опыт, а также на те скудные данные, которые имеются в литературе по этому вопросу. Научная ценность монографии снижается за счет слабого методического подхода к изучению темы. Ведь в самом деле, информация, полученная от индивидов, вспоминавших свое двуязычное детство или же от знакомых, родственников может быть неполной, односторонней, искаженной, прошедшей через чувства, опыт и сознание взрослых. В связи с этим интерпретация материала носит слишком общий и схематичный характер, а некоторые положения мне представляются предвзятыми и спорными. Например, такие как тезисы автора о том, что смешанная семья — источник «драмы», что ребенок, вырастающий в ее условиях, часто становится «жертвой комплексов», что смешанная семья не предоставляет условий для формирования эффективного, балансного двуязычия и прочие. Можно привести массу примеров, которые этого не подтверждают. Вот почему многие положения автора нуждаются в глубокой научной проверке с привлечением точных психологических и социально-психологических методик и на конкретном «детском» материале.

Однако несмотря на слабые стороны книги, ее появление можно приветствовать: дан толчок для размышлений, для изучения довольно-таки сложной, чреватой спекулятивными выводами темы, мимо которой до сих пор проходили исследователи.

А. Яровинский

Lakó György: Budenz József. A múlt magyar tudósai. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980, 229 S.

In den letzten Jahrzehnten — parallel mit der Herausbildung der großen Synthesen, sowie mit dem Kennenlernen, der Rezeption und Pflege neuer linguistischer

Tendenzen, ferner mit dem Aufschwung der Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft — erhöhte sich das Interesse an der Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Der Zweck der Serie „A múlt magyar tudósai“ [Die ungarischen Wissenschaftler der Vergangenheit] ist nicht nur die Traditionspflege; die Verfasser der Studien halten auch die Erschließung bisher unbekannter Gebiete der Wissenschaftsgeschichte vor Augen. Es wird nämlich immer klarer, daß sehr viele als neu deklarierte Gedanken schon in Keimform in der Tätigkeit der Vorgänger aufzufinden waren, nur wurden diese Gedanken — weil die Aufmerksamkeit auf andere Themen gerichtet war — auf die Peripherie gedrängt, sie sind in Form zerstreuter Bemerkungen erschienen und bildeten daher kein System. Man findet in den Werken aller bedeutenden ungarischen Linguisten des 19. Jahrhunderts z. B. Gedanken über die Abgrenzung zwischen Sprache (langue) und Sprechen (parole), über die Trennung der deskriptiven und historischen Gesichtspunkte, über die Klassifizierung der Sprachen usw., das Interesse der Sprachwissenschaft war jedoch beinahe im vollen Maße auf die Klärung des Ursprungs und der Geschichte der ungarischen Sprache gerichtet; so blieben die Äußerungen bezüglich der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft in Fragmentform.

Von György Lakó ist schon in der Serie „A múlt magyar tudósai“ ein Band über János Sajnovics, einem der Begründer der Finnougristik erschienen. Im vorliegenden Werk würdigt der Autor die Tätigkeit von József Budenz. Er schreibt über den Wissenschaftler, der für die Finnougristik in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen schuf und sich dadurch sowohl im einheimischen, als auch im internationalen wissenschaftlichen Leben unverjährlche Verdienste erwarb.

„Budenz hat auch viele andere Verdienste, nicht nur daß er die einheimische finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft im engeren Sinn des Wortes begründete. Er

auch Prinzipien deklariert, die damals als fortschrittlich galten, — er stellte vor die ungarischen Linguisten ein wissenschaftliches Programm, das zu dieser Zeit durchaus auf Aufmerksamkeit rechnen konnte, er leistete eine Arbeit, die — besonders unter unseren Bedingungen — auch heute auf Erwähnung Anspruch erheben kann“ — schreibt György Lakó in seinem Aufsatz „Módszerbeli újítás és elvi-elméleti állásfoglalások néhány XIX. századi magyar nyelvész műveiben“ [Methodologische Neuerungen und prinzipiell-theoretische Stellungnahmen in den Werken einiger ungarischer Sprachforscher des XIX. Jahrhunderts] (Magyar Nyelv 76. [1980], 389). Die Werke von Pál Hunfalvy, Szende Riedl, Ponor-Thewrewk und Zsigmond Simonyi enthalten reichlich Äußerungen bezüglich der Probleme der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft, doch müssen wir in dieser Hinsicht auch Budenz unbedingt erwähnen. Eines der neuen Ergebnisse des Buches von György Lakó ist, daß er auf die progressiven theoretischen Ausführungen von Budenz hinweist.

Budenz befaßte sich auch mit der Beschreibung der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen: seine finnische Grammatik, die er für seine Studenten zusammenstellte, spielte Jahre lang eine bedeutende Rolle im Universitätsunterricht. Auf diesem Gebiet war er kein Neuerer, doch sah er klar die Grundprinzipien einer Grammatik, die Trennung der Synchronie von der Diachronie, sowie die Bedeutung des Funktionsbegriffs: „... von der deskriptiven Grammatik erwartet man, daß sie die beweglichen und die in Ruhe gelangten Elemente im Wortschatz der Sprache kontrastiv vorzeige“ (151) — schreibt Budenz in seinem Aufsatz „A magyar szóképzés tárgyalásához“ [Zur Darstellung der ungarischen Wortbildung] und ebenda schreibt er auch darüber, daß die einzelnen Ableitungssuffixe mit ihren Funktionen verbunden behandelt werden sollen.

Der Universitätsprofessor für Finnougristik interessierte sich auch für die ungarischen Mundarten und betonte sogar

von einem prinzipiellen Standpunkt die Bedeutung der Dialektforschung. Unmittelbar nach seiner Ankunft in Ungarn (1858), sammelte er Sprachmaterial im Szeklerland. In seinem Aufsatz „Adalékok a székely beszéd ismertetéséhez“ [Beitrag zur Darstellung der Szeklermundart] unterstrich er die Bedeutung der systematischen Dialektforschung.

Seine, auch nach heutiger Auffassung moderne Denkart beweist auch die Tatsache, daß er den ungarischen Grammatiken und sogar den Schulgrammatiken seines Zeitalters seine Aufmerksamkeit schenkte. Im Aufsatz „Szó-tagolások és valami a szóképzés iskolai tanításáról“ [Wortanalysen und etwas über den Schulunterricht in Wortbildung] schreibt er: „Ich denke, daß entweder die Abteilung oder die Kommission der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft... den ungarischen Sprachunterricht kritisch überwachen könnte, damit dieser nicht Fehler und Verkehrtheiten bestätige, die man sich in der Literatur zu verbreiten mit Bedauern sieht und daß andererseits der Fortschritt unserer Sprachwissenschaft, wenn auch nur in sehr geringem Maße, in den Schulunterricht durchsickere“ (137).

Es interessierten ihn auch die Probleme der Sprachpflege und im Zusammenhang damit die ungarische Sprachreform. „In Zusammenarbeit mit Pál Hunfalvy und Pál Gyulai warf er in der Akademie den Gedanken der Gründung einer Zeitschrift für die Sprachpflege auf. Als Ergebnis entstand die Zeitschrift Magyar Nyelvőr“ (134). Budenz war zwar nicht der Gründer der Magyar Nyelvőr, es steht jedoch fest, daß er beim Start der Zeitschrift zugegen war. All dies steht in einem engen Zusammenhang mit seiner Tätigkeit in der Wissenschaftsorganisation, die die Struktur des ungarischen linguistischen Lebens für Jahrzehnte bestimmte. Als ordentlicher Professor der altaischen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, als Redakteur der Zeitschrift Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, der das finnougri sche Profil dieser Zeitschrift bestimmte, diri-

gierte Budenz dieses Gebiet bis zu seinem frühzeitigen Tode im Jahr 1892.

Wie bedeutend auch die oben geschilderte Tätigkeit von Budenz war, den Gipfel seiner Laufbahn erreichte er mit dem „Magyar–Ugor Összehasonlító Szótár“ (MUSz.) [Ungarisch–Ugrisches Vergleichendes Wörterbuch] und mit der „Ugor Alaktan“ (UA) [Ugrische Morphologie]. György Lakó verfolgt die Entwicklung der Ansichten von Budenz, d. h. den Weg, welchen er von der Annahme der türkischen Verwandtschaft bis zu ihrer Ablehnung hinter sich ließ. Seine Stellungnahme entfaltete sich nämlich im Laufe seiner turkologischen und finnougri-
stischen Vorstudien, ferner im Laufe der Veröffentlichung der tschuwassischen, tscheremissischen und mordwinischen Materialien von Antal Reguly: „... die Untersuchung der tschuwassischen und tatarischen Elemente des Tscheremissischen und Wotjakischen hat die Gestaltung der Stellungnahme von Budenz bezüglich der Verwandtschaftsrelationen der ungarischen Sprache entscheidend beeinflusst“ (38–39). Budenz mag wahrscheinlich daran gedacht haben, daß sich auch die türkischen (quasi-tschuwassischen) Elemente des ungarischen Wortschatzes ähnlich deuten lassen, wie die Lehnwörter in der tscheremissischen Sprache, es braucht also keine türkisch-ungarische Urverwandtschaft vorausgesetzt werden. Auf diese Weise hat sich sein Interesse von der Untersuchung der türkischen Zusammenhänge zu den Fragen finno-ugrischen Verwandtschaft gewandt. Er hat seinen Aufsatz „Magyar és finnugor nyelvelvi szövegyezések“ [Wortübereinstimmungen im Ungarischen und in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen] — den man als Vorstudie zum MUSz. betrachtet — verfaßt, danach in den Diskussionen des wohlbekannten „türkisch-ugrischen Krieges“ die öffentliche Meinung bezüglich der finno-ugrischen Verwandtschaft der ungarischen Sprache endgültig auf seine Seite gebracht. Ein separates Kapitel im Buch von György Lakó befaßt sich mit der Bewertung des

„Magyar–Ugor Összehasonlító Szótár“ und der „Ugor Alaktan“, ferner mit den Ansichten von Budenz über das gegenseitige Verhältnis der finnougri-
stischen Sprachen und über ihre entfernten Verbindungen, weiters mit der Zielsetzung und den Methoden der sprachwissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Budenz. Im Zusammenhang mit der Bewertung der Tätigkeit von Budenz erhält man einen umfassenden Überblick über die europäische Sprachwissenschaft des gegebenen Zeitalters. Der Verfasser bildet also einen in grössere Zusammenhänge gestellten Rückblick über die Verdienste von Budenz.

Lakó faßt die Bedeutung von Budenz wie folgt zusammen: „Er war derjenige, der durch sein „Magyar–Ugor Összehasonlító Szótár“ und seine „Ugor Alaktan“ die Zusammengehörigkeit des Ungarischen mit den anderen finno-ugrischen Sprachen als erster ausführlich nachwies; er gab das Vorbild für die moderne Beschreibung der finno-ugrischen Sprachen, er hat die wissenschaftliche Methode der etymologischen Forschungen bei uns eingeführt“ (201) . . „Er schuf im engeren Sinne des Wortes die Finnougri-
stik und sein Name ist damit untrennbar verbunden“ (202).

Auf Grund des Buches von György Lakó sehen wir in József Budenz einen bedeutend vielseitigeren und moderneren Sprachforscher als wir ihn uns bisher vorgestellt haben.

Anna A. Jászó

G. L. Windfuhr: Persian Grammar. History and State of its Study. Trends in Linguistics. State-of-the-Art Reports 12. Ed. W. Winter. Mouton Publishers, The Hague 1979.

As the title indicates, the intention of the author was to give an overall view of the grammatical literature of (Muslim-age) Persian and to present certain aspects of Persian grammar. After a short historical introduction (1) the bulk of the book

is constituted by a detailed discussion of certain problems of Syntax (2), which is followed by the chapters Phonetics and Phonology (3) and Lexis (4). The chapter on the stages of Persian (5) is followed by two bibliographies (6, 7). The author has scrutinized about two thirds of the Western and Iranian and about one third of the Soviet publications. His investigations are said to be "critical and selective" aiming at presenting the scientific paradigms lying behind the individual works and not simply giving "chronologically arranged annotated biographical (bibliographical?) lists" (5). He has intended his work for both non-specialists (giving the rudiments) and specialists (dwelling on various theoretical aspects). Before embarking on the criticism of the book under review a few preliminary remarks concerning the history of Persian grammars and the division of the Persian history of language, are at place.

It is a generally accepted view in Persian linguistic literature that in spite of its apparent homogeneity Muslim-age New Persian underwent profound changes affecting all the levels of grammar during the thousand years that have passed. Of course, these changes took place gradually, covering the whole period. It goes without saying that the roots of certain changes can be traced back to the various geographical or social dialects of the language. Distinction must, however, be made between the occasional appearance of a syntagm and its integration into the paradigm. The division of New Persian into stages and assigning to them dates is an abstraction, which is indispensable for describing the various states of the language. Thus the last thousand years of New Persian are divided into the periods of Preclassical (9th to 11th centuries), Classical and Modern Persian in the linguistic literature. (Windfuhr uses the term Modern Persian instead of New Persian, which is misleading, though not uncommon, cf. e.g. Darmesteter, Wilson etc.). The formal version of Modern

Persian is supposed to have developed by the beginning of the Safavid period,¹ while the informal variety of Modern Persian primarily based on the Tehran dialect developing later into a literary language may be assumed to have appeared at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. That is to say, within New Persian a clear distinction must be made between Classical Persian (early and late) and Modern Persian (formal and informal). This chronology naturally serves only as a starting-point, as a theoretical background. Within this framework a large number of chronological, geographical and social varieties may further be distinguished when discussing the history of the language in more detail.

It is by no means a surprise that the Persian literature of grammar is characterized by persistent conservatism. What they describe is a mixture of the written varieties of Classical and Modern Persian, Persian being considered as a monolithic unit in which essential qualities of the Classical and Preclassical periods appear as redundant elements² or stylistic variants, and features of Modern Persian as colloquialisms. Up to the mid-nineteenth century Persian grammar-book writing had been characterized by such a monolithic approach. With the exception of a few non-comprehensive studies Lazard's book³ has been in the only work to date that has consequently dealt with Modern Persian.

The second remark concerns the history of Persian grammar-book writing. When discussing this question two closely related aspects should be considered: what the subject-matter of the grammatical description is (which period of New Persian is treated) and what it is aimed at. At the

¹Telegdi, Zs.: Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik der Neupersischen. In: *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 [1955] 68, note 1.

²Jones, W.: *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London 1928, 65.

³Lazard, G.: *Grammaire du persan contemporain*. Paris 1957.

beginning, grammar consisted of sketches which served practical purposes (17th century). Later, grammars became more comprehensive and contained a greater number of examples (18th and 19th centuries). There grammars, however, followed mechanically pre-set Latin and Arabic patterns, they did not aspire originality and they were lacking any theoretical background. Moreover only a small number of grammatical surveys adhere conscious by to a linguistic school (comparative and historical, neogrammarian, structuralist or transformational-generative), thence these works can hardly be termed scientific in the proper sense of this term.

After these preliminary remarks let us examine W's views on the stages of Persian, the terms applied and the historical introduction.

The division of Persian into periods can be pieced together partly from Chapter 5, partly from the Foreword (p. 7) and from scattered hints. The division of the classical language into 4 'historical' periods (formative, heroic, classical, post-classical) and the contemporary period has been taken over from Rypka's work;⁴ it can be applied to the history of the language only with some reservations. (The literary language is always more conservative — it follows the changes of the spoken language with some delay. This holds for Persian more than any other language). Moreover, Rypka dates the appearance of the New Persian language and literature in the 7th century following the incorrect explanations of Rempis⁵ (cf. Lazard: "les interprétations proposées dans cet article sont plus d'une fois aventureuses").⁶ Horn does not deal with periodization in the

quoted locus of his work at all.⁷ Furthermore, I am reluctant to share Windfuhr's views when he says: "Research on the traditional phase from Middle Persian to modern Persian and on the formative period of Persian has progressed little due to the scarcity of preserved material..." (169). Lazard's investigations have contributed to the clarification of precisely these questions!

The situation of the Modern Persian (Windfuhr's contemporary Persian) is described by him in the following way: "the contemporary 'standard' dialect may be circumscribed as follows: it is the socially most prestigious dialect of Tehran which is not yet, but is fast becoming, the standard dialect of Iran. As such it is the geographically least marked dialect as opposed to the local dialect (Mundart) of Tehran. It has a written and a spoken, informal variant, here called contemporary colloquial..." (7). When discussing the particular grammatical problems later on, W uses the terms *literary*, *formal level* (82), *correct speech* (82), *educated standard* (18), *colloquial* near-standard (40, 70) and *sub-standard colloquial* (33), and refers to contrasts such as *substandard/standard Persian* (41), *contemporary literary standard Persian*/the layers of "colloquials" (19), *formal/informal* (88) and *literary/colloquial* (81). It would seem that W associates *contemporary Persian* with 20th century and with the dialect of Tehran. However, we have no knowledge of any features that would suggest a distinction between the *local dialect of Tehran* and its present-day *standard informal variant*; and Windfuhr associates both with Tehran. In the historical part Windfuhr attributes the recording of colloquialisms to the grammars of Angelus (1684), Vullers (1840, 1870) Chodzko (1852) and Ibrahim—Fleischer (1847). On the basis of the above

⁴ Rypka, J.: *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht 1968.

⁵ Rempis, Ch. H.: Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersisch. In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 101 [1951] 220—240.

⁶ Lazard, G.: *Les premiers poètes persans*. Tome I. Téhéran—Paris 1964, 8, note 2.

⁷ Horn, P.: *Neupersische Schriftsprache*. In: W. Geiger, E. Kuhn (eds): *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*. Strassburg 1895—1901, Bd 1, 2, 15—16.

chronology and definition it is not clear, however, what kind of colloquialisms the references cover.

The author starts his short summary of the history of Persian grammar writing (9–25) from the Sasanian times. I can not share his enthusiasm, when he says “The study of grammar in Iran is of great age.” (10) It is a well-known fact that the Iranians themselves failed to show any interest in their own language for a long time.⁸ The first grammars were written surprisingly late and they were written for practical purposes by and for foreigners. I think, a historical survey of grammar-writing should not cover the questions concerning the reproduction of texts in the Sasanian era, Avicenna’s philosophical works and the poetic and the rhetorical works. They may be used as indirect sources for the solution of some of the problems of the history of the Persian language and literature, but, strictly speaking, they do not belong to the grammatical studies.

Grammar-writing as such starts with Ibn Muḥannā’s short work written in Arabic, which is actually a meager collection of morphological examples. Incidentally, this work contains Persian, Turkish and Mongolian grammars and not “Arabic, Mongolian Turkish and Persian” ones (11).

The first grammars written by Europeans (17th century) are more valuable sources. Here, too, several corrections must be made. W says, for example, that “Western grammatical studies of Persian were initially based on direct observation in Iran” (13). Quite up to the 19th and 20th centuries grammars were compiled predominantly on the basis of classical or quasi-classical written texts, though most authors spent years in the East and studied Persian from the Persians. We know

how great the prestige of the language of the classical period is even today. Thus the grammars referred to reflect primarily the contemporary written norms, the formal (mostly classical) literary language, and not the contemporary spoken language. Notice furthermore that Raimondi’s first grammar is just a sketch of a few pages, most of the manuscript (18–91) being an excerpt of Ahmad ibn Mustafā’s grammar.⁹ (The first name of the adapter, Flaminio Clementio Amerino first seemed a printer’s error. However, it can be found in Xromov’s quoted article¹⁰ in the same form: Ilaminio!) Dieu used translations, i.e. not original texts, as sources for his grammar, which were imperfect themselves, so his work codifies the mistakes of the translations. The work of Graves, a mathematician in Oxford, would have deserved more attention: he was the only one among the 17th century authors who was not following the Latin and Arabic models. Though the Italian Carmelite Ignazio’s *Grammatica* is full of inconsistencies, it is the only grammar which contains hints about contemporary spoken language and pronunciation.

We might carry on quoting loose statements and over-generalizations, like, for instance, the superficial criticism of Jones’s grammar, an excellent book of its time: “practically rather than linguistically oriented” (14), though Cannon’s study¹¹ made an effort to scan its “scientific paradigm”.

One can speak of a “theoretical approach” from the appearance of historical linguistics only. Windfuhr, however, makes no mention of the fact that Horn, representative of the neogrammarian school attempted to describe the “neupersische

⁹ Rossi, E.: *Elenco dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana*. In: *Studi e testi* 174. Città del Vaticano 1953, Vat. Pers. 24.

¹⁰ Soxan 20 (1349/1970) 286, note 2.

¹¹ Cannon, G. H.: Sir William Jones’s Persian linguistics. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78 [1958] 262–273.

⁸ Lazard, G.: Persian and Tajik. In: Th. A. Sebeok (ed.): *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Paris/The Hague 1970, Vol. VI, 64.

Schriftsprache" in accordance with the theoretical approach laid down by this school, that is to say, to mark off the forms differing from the regular phonetic changes as dialectal (geographical and chronological) variants arisen due to borrowing or analogical innovation. In this connection it is worth mentioning that Horn referred to Modern Persian forms as well using an original text, Nâsir-ad-din shah's travel diary, as a source. In this respect he followed a more up-to-date method than Jensen¹² some decades later, who quoted the colloquialisms from Phillott's huge but incorrect grammar.

The author shows tangible sympathy for the efforts made by Iranian linguists who apply modern theories. Just as with his predecessors, we miss the critical interpretations of these works. The mere indication of the theoretical approach is far from being sufficient where analysis is required. Undoubtedly, these efforts have led to a number of positive results. First of all, the meaning of *fârsi* (as a subject-matter of linguistic studies and as a subject taught at school) has undergone radical changes. Traditionally *fârsi* has meant a peculiar mixture of the history of literature, language and stylistics in Iran, but today it means the description or analysis, that is, the grammar of the standard (both formal and informal) language. The correct morphological analysis, the description of the functions of word order and suprasegmental elements are novelties. The interest in theoretical linguistics, first of all in the further development of structuralism is a new phenomenon as well. For the time being however, this interest is restricted to simple applications and real results are rare. Unfortunately, no comprehensive descriptive study of present-day Persian has been made thus far which would be a necessary prerequisite for any theoretical

study. If we consider the oeuvre of the two most significant contemporary Iranian linguists, Sadeqi and Bateni, the explanation for their want of success probably lies in the choice of unsuitable theories, in the efforts to follow them and in the lack of preparatory work. These two linguists should be mentioned because their extensive oeuvre would have made it possible for Windfuhr to expound their faults and merits instead of just showing summary appreciation. Sadeqi, for example, has published valuable data concerning the grammar of informal Persian for the first time. However, the theoretical framework of his studies (a modified version of Martinet's functional structuralism) is eclectic and obscure. Just one example: the classification of sentences (statements, conjunctives, imperatives) is based on the morphological differences of the verbal moods. Bateni, who was the first to describe present-day formal educated standard language,¹³ has tried to adopt Halliday's theory of "scale and category". This is a theory about the categories of the language and their hierarchical relations and is unsuitable for the syntactic analysis of the sentences of a given corpus. Consequently, the book is a conglomerate of unsuccessful analyses.

All the objections enumerated above are, to an even greater degree, valid for the Syntax as well, which constitutes about two thirds of the book. The author does not apply any clear-cut theoretical method, the presentation of the particular syntactic problems contains references to diachronic changes, some hints at present-day synchronic variations, to the way the subject is treated in the literature, the author's own suggestions and, sporadically, data concerning the history of the language. Most of the latter comes from Jensen's book, but Windfuhr does not provide the relevant references. For example, "the origin of the plural *hâ* is uncertain, but is

¹² Jensen, H.: *Neupersische Grammatik, mit Berücksichtigung der historischen Entwicklung*. Heidelberg 1931.

¹³ Bâteni, M. R.: *Tousif-e sâxtemân-e dasturi-ye zabân-e fârsi*. Tehrân 1348/1969.

supposed by most scholars (?) to be identical in origin with the 'adverbial' *há*, cf. Jensen (1931)" (31). This statement by Jensen has already been criticised by Benveniste!¹⁴ It is deplorable that Windfuhr's book enthusiastically recommends the reader Jensen's work, which was heavily criticized at the time of its publication and can by no means be regarded as an exemplary scholarly work. (See Benveniste's review!)

I have the feeling that W is unable to approach grammatical works with due criticism. Authors who are uncomparable due to different subject-matters to different methodology and to the differences in the quality of their work, are set side by side, e.g. Jensen—Lazard (28, 43), Darmesteter—Lazard (20), Geitlin—Lazard (43), Dieu—Ovčinnikova (51), Telegdi—Muxamedova (116) etc. On the whole, instead of a critical presentation we have to content ourselves by "labels" (descriptive-taxonomic, structuralist, generative, neo-Firthian, Fillmorean).

To conclude we say a few words about the bibliography. The greatest merits of a bibliography are its completeness and correctness. Neither of these attributes can be applied to W's bibliography. The author himself points out that his bibliography is selective. This practically means that everything the author was able to lay hands on is included, and essential aspects have been omitted (e.g. the complete bibliography of Hebrew-Persian is missing). My main objection, however, is that the bibliography contains great number of inaccurate data and references. For instance, the following works are referred to in the study, but omitted from the bibliography: Oranskij 1963b (3), Behruz 1972 (11), Ligeti 1962 (15), Gmelin 1788 (16), Falk 1796 (16), Trubetskoy (Trubetskoy, Trubetzkoy)

1936 (20), Xánlari 1973 (51), Christensen 1930, 1934 (41), Amuzegâr—Yegâne 1967 (70), Telegdi 1970 (80), Yarshater 1958 (82), Rastorgueva 1954 (91), Müller 1904 (171).

There are differences between the references in the study and those in the bibliography, e.g. Afšâr 1971a, b (3), Barb 1886a, b (16), Afšâr 1953 (22), Homâ'i 1959 (22), Bâteni 1968, 1968: II (28), Bâteni 1968 (31), Palmer 1970 (43), Shari'at Rezavi (46), Lazard 1970 (50), Pejsikov 1959 (58), Lentz 1958 (55), Lazard 1963 (74, 92), Telegdi 1956 (114).

The inaccurate titles could also be enumerated here e.g. Benveniste 1966a (223), Lazard 1971 (253, three mistakes!), Žukovskij 1888b (303).

The use of the two transcription systems is not very fortunate. Mistakes and inconsistencies of transcription can be found in the Russian, Arabic (*hudûṭ* → *hudûṭ* 12, *hilyat* → *hilyat* 11), and in the Persian data (*sarbaz* → *sarbâz* 78, *zâbân* → *zabân* 78 etc.).

All in all, Windfuhr's work does not give a reliable, critical approach to the presentation of synchronic and diachronic problems to the specialist, and even less so to their solution. For the layman, on the other hand, it is quite often misleading.

Éva Jeremiás

Új Magyar Tájszótár A-D [Новый Венгерский Дialeктный Словарь]. Главный редактор **Éva B. Lőrinczy.** Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979, 1053 l.

Появление первого тома запланированного капитального тезауруса венгерской диалектной лексики, носящего название Новый венгерский диалектный словарь, является важным событием в венгерской диалектной лексикографии.

Традиционный интерес венгерских лингвистов к диалектной лексике — как в прошлом, так и в наши дни — документируется рядом ценных словарей и записей слов венгерских говоров. Своим предшест-

¹⁴ Benveniste, E.: Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 33 [1932] 37.

венником составители рецензируемого диалектного словаря считают — как об этом можно осведомиться и в предисловии к словарю — Йожефа Синньеи, редактора двухтомного Венгерского диалектного словаря (1893–1901). Заслуга профессора Синньеи заключается прежде всего в том, что в его словаре отражена лексика всех венгерских говоров, а не только некоторых, как это было до него в первом Венгерском диалектном словаре 1838-го г., изданном Обществом Венгерских Ученых. Но, кроме того, профессору Синньеи удалось определить и специфику диалектных слов, на основании которой он включал слова в свой словарь. Не без основания это считается крупным творческим успехом в истории венгерской диалектной лексикографии и лексикологии.

Словарь Й. Синньеи был словарем дифференциальным, а не отражением лексики говоров в своей полноте. От общих лексических элементов отдельных диалектов и литературного языка он строго отделил диалектизмы. В числе последних на первом месте оказываются собственно диалектные слова, то есть лексический материал, характерный только для тех или других говоров и ни в каком виде не имеющийся в литературно-разговорном языке. К диалектизмам Й. Синньеи относил далее так называемые фонетические и семантические диалектные слова. И те и другие имеют свои соответствия в лексике литературного языка, но первые отличаются от них своим звуковым обликом, вторые же своей семантикой. Синньеи применял эти принципы отбирания слов очень четко, а кроме того еще и экономно. Так, например, из числа фонетических диалектизмов он исключил слова, обнаруживающие регулярные фонетические различия по сравнению с соответствующими словами разговорно-литературного языка.

Хотя труд Й. Синньеи ознаменовал собой целую эпоху в истории венгерской диалектной лексикографии, сразу же после его появления началось новое, еще более обширное и основательное собирание диалектных слов. В эту работу кроме профес-

сиональных лингвистов были вовлечены и местные интеллигенты: учителя, священники, служащие и т. д. Благодаря их устремлениям были записаны сотни тысяч данных из лексики венгерских диалектов. Часть этого материала появилась на страницах журналов и других изданий, часть же хранилась в рукописном виде. Этот архивный материал и послужил исходной точкой при составлении картотеки рецензируемого словаря.

Составители словаря проделали экскерпцию из указанных материалов, а кроме того из разных областных словарей и целого ряда журналов и книг по языкознанию, этнографии, фольклору и другим отраслям науки. Таким путем им удалось набрать огромный фактический материал, хранящийся в центральной картотеке, а отчасти обработанный уже в областных словарях. Рабочий коллектив словаря опирался исключительно на этот архивный и печатный материал и отказался от собирания дополнительного материала на месте. Величина архивного материала — картотека состоит из более чем 600 000 карточек — могла показаться редакторам словаря больше чем достаточной для достоверного отражения лексики венгерских диалектов в нужной полноте. Они, наряду с этим, очевидно отдали себе отчет в том, что собирание диалектных слов на месте в данном случае было бы связано с большими трудностями. Тем более, что немалая часть венгерского населения — носители разных диалектов — живет за рубежами страны, на территории соседствующих стран. Однако такой — полный — отказ от работы на месте не мог не повлиять отрицательно на работу над словарем. Он лишил коллектив возможности надежной проверки неясных, неполных, спорных, а иногда и ошибочных данных картотеки. А таких — как об этом можно убедиться отчасти и в словаре — не так уж мало.

Что касается структуры словаря, редакторы и здесь во многом пошли за Й. Синньеи, но не страшались известных обновлений, отдавая дань достижениям современной лексикографии. Работа представляет собой

в собственном смысле слова тезаурус лексики венгерских диалектов в виде словаря, который носит однако несколько архивный характер. Последний неизбежно вытекает из характера самого архивного материала, за обработку и отражение которого берется словарь. Некоторые слова в словаре, например, не получают подходящего толкования. А это объясняется тем, что архивный материал не дает возможности для толкования значений таких слов. Значит, словарь в таких случаях просто отражает изъяны и неточности картотеки слов.

Словарь поражает читателя своим богатством слов и вариантов слов, но не менее и богатством документации. Во всех этих отношениях новый словарь намного превосходит старый. Не следует, однако, думать, что новый словарь включает в себя все слова старого. Это далеко не так. Некоторые из слов словаря Й. Синьнеи не попали на страницы нового словаря — по той простой причине, что их нет в картотеке. Значит, новый словарь отражает меру обновления диалектов за 50—60 лет. Небезинтересно видеть по данным словаря, что процесс вымирания слов за этот промежуток времени вовсе нельзя считать медленным. В то же время, в новом словаре имеется масса таких слов, которых не было в словаре Й. Синьнеи. Это объясняется прежде всего гораздо более обширным и обстоятельным собиранием, но кроме того, несомненно, и появлением новых диалектных слов за указанный период. Пропорция слов, которые были на страницах словаря Й. Синьнеи, но которых нет в архиве, с одной стороны, и слов, которых не было у Синьнеи, но имеются и в архивном материале и в новом словаре, с другой, — по моим подсчетам — выражается отношением 1 : 10. Это убедительно показывает обилие материала в новом словаре, 4 тома которого будет содержать приблизительно 120 000 словарных статей.

Богаче в новом словаре и документация слов. Картотека дает тем самым возможность более точно очертить круг распространения отдельных слов в пространственном отношении. Оказывается, многие

слова значительно более распространены территориально, чем об этом можно было судить по словарю Й. Синьнеи. Причиной этому является опять-таки, прежде всего, более обстоятельная работа при собирании лексического материала, но непременно следует считаться и с усилением процесса междиалектного контактирования в указанный период.

Появление первого тома, а вслед за ним в ближайшие годы и следующих трех томов, несомненно усилит интерес венгерских диалектологов к теоретическим проблемам лексикологии и лексикографии. Словарь представляет богатейший материал для изучения таких вопросов как слово и его варианты, омонимия в области диалектных слов, явления синонимии, проблемы толкования слов, многозначность диалектных слов и семантическое членение многозначных слов, расщепление слов, метонимия, актуализация значения, междиалектное контактирование, отношение общеразговорной и диалектной лексики, специфика семантической и стилистической адаптации лексики общеразговорного слова в диалектах.

Й. Юхас

Loránd Benkő: Az Árpád-kor magyar nyelvű szövegemlékei [Die Textdenkmäler ungarischer Sprache der Árpádenzeit]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980, 392 S. + 14 Photokopien und 7 Portraits.

Für die Sprachgeschichte können manchmal die verwandten Sprachen, die Lehnwörter, die Dialekte wichtige Anhaltspunkte liefern; der sicherste Grundsatz ist jedoch das Sprachdenkmal, und zwar je älter und länger, umso besser. In den meisten Sprachen können die Streudenkmäler den Textdenkmälern um mehrere Jahrhunderte vorangehen. Als Streudenkmäler gelten nicht nur die in dem fremdsprachigen Text eingebetteten Eigennamen eventuell ein Gattungsname, wie „*fecerunt aldumas*“ bei Anonymus, oder aber ein Suffix, wie „*dedit terram . . . Tosunec*“, sondern auch die ins Grab und Gebäude,

Gefäße eingravierten kurzen Anschriften, Namen, ferner die Wortverzeichnisse. Auch die Streudenkmäler können sehr wichtige Angaben für die Phonetik und für die Geschichte des Wortschatzes liefern, jedoch viel weniger Angaben für die Morphologie und noch weniger zur Syntax.

Unsere frühesten Streudenkmäler erscheinen in Texten arabischer und griechischer Schrift, später kommen Texte glagolitischer Schrift und Kertschrift vor, die meisten sind aber lateinischer Schrift und in lateinischem Text eingebettet. Von unseren Streudenkmälern wurden die ältesten und wichtigsten von Dezső Pais (Die Urkunde der Veszprémtaler Nonnen als Sprachdenkmal 1939), von Géza Bárczi (Die Gründungsurkunde des Stifts Tihany als Sprachdenkmal 1951) und von István Kniezsa (Die Urkunden aus den Jahren 1111 und 1113 des Stifts Zobor . . . Magyar Nyelvjárások [Ungarische Dialekte] VI, 1947–49, 3–50) monographisch bearbeitet.

Mit unseren ersten vier Textdenkmälern (Altungarische Leichenpredigt und Bitte, Königsberger Fragment und seine Bänder, Altungarische Marienklage, Glossen von Gyulafehérvár [Karlsburger Glossen]) haben sich seit ihrer Entdeckung unsere ausgezeichnetesten Sprachwissenschaftler, wie M. Révai, Zs. Simonyi, J. Szinnyi, G. Mészöly, J. Horváth, D. Pais, G. Bárczi und I. Kniezsa in längeren Studien befaßt. Über das Königsberger Fragment und seine Bänder hat Éva B. Lőrinczy eine Monographie geschrieben (1953). Den Glossen von Gyulafehérvár [Karlsburger Glossen] wurde eine schlechtere Behandlung wahrscheinlich deshalb zuteil, da diese durch ihren Distinktionscharakter nicht einen wirklichen, kontinuierlichen Text darstellen.

Diese vier ältesten Textdenkmäler unterscheiden sich in vielen Gesichtspunkten auch von unserer frühen Kodexliteratur (Kodex Jókai, Wiener Kodex) nicht nur durch ihre altertümlichere Sprache und Orthographie, sondern auch dadurch, daß sie dem Original nicht

sklavisch, sondern frei folgen und dadurch der gesprochenen Sprache näher gestanden sein können. Schon deshalb war Benkő's Gedanke, diese vier, in verschiedenen Zeitaltern, von verschiedenen Verfassern, jedoch binnen eines Jahrhunderts entstandenen, im Sprachzustand ähnlichen und einen hohen Literaturwert aufweisenden vier Sprachdenkmäler in einer gemeinsamen Monographie aufzuarbeiten.

Loránd Benkő ist einer der ausgezeichnetesten und vielseitigsten Sprachforscher der zweiten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts, der in allen Perioden und Zweigen der ungarischen Sprachgeschichte daheim ist, der aber auch in der Dialektologie, in der Namenkunde, in der deskriptiven Grammatik und in der Pflege der Literatursprache dauerhaftes geschaffen hat. Er war Mitarbeiter der Bibliographie des Werkes Ungarische Dialekte, des Atlases der Ungarischen Dialekte, Redakteur des Historisch-Etymologischen Wörterbuches der ungarischen Sprache, einer der Redakteure des Bandes *The Hungarian Language*, welcher dem ausländischen Wissenschaftler das System und die Geschichte der ungarischen Sprache auf dem Niveau der heutigen Wissenschaft kennen zu lernen ermöglicht. Loránd Benkő ist unter anderen Redakteur der Zeitschrift *Magyar Nyelv* [Die Ungarische Sprache].

Sein Buch, welches hier rezensiert wird, ist nicht nur die beste und modernste Zusammenfassung des Zustandes der ungarischen Sprache in der Árpádenzeit, (XII–XIII. Jahrh.) sondern auch ein Rückblick auf die sprachdenkmallose Zeit, eine Aufarbeitung des Datenmaterials der Streudenkmäler.

Obzwar sich seit ihrer Entdeckung mit den im Buch behandelten vier Sprachdenkmälern zahlreiche Artikel und Studien befaßten, wurden sie bis jetzt sprachwissenschaftlich, kulturhistorisch, chronologisch nicht so tiefgehend bearbeitet, wie jetzt von Benkő. Der Verfasser wartet — außer der sorgfältigen und kritischen Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Ergebnisse — zahlreiche neue Ergebnissen auf. Er weist die

philologischen Mangelhaftigkeiten der bisherigen Textmitteilungen zurecht, ersetzt einige komplettierbare Textteile (an den Bändern des Königsberger Fragments), gibt die wahrscheinliche, zeitgenössische Aussprache der Texte und ihre heutige ungarische Deutung an. Die Festlegung sowohl der Aussprache, als auch der Deutung war nur durch die sehr sorgfältige und umsichtige Benützung der vorherigen Ergebnisse möglich. Benkő vergleicht die ungarischen Texte mit ihren lateinischen Originalen; so kann er feststellen, was als lateinischer Einfluß zu betrachten ist und was originale ungarische Konstruktion ist. Er befaßt sich als erster gründlich mit der textologischen Überprüfung der Sprachdenkmäler, mit den stilistischen Mitteln der Textbildung, mit den Regelmäßigkeiten der rhythmischen Prosa und der Dichtung.

In seinen einleitenden Bemerkungen befaßt sich Benkő mit der sprachhistorischen Bedeutung der Sprachdenkmäler, vor allem der Textdenkmäler. Wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, daß die Textdenkmäler der ungarischen Sprache den Denkmälern der anderen uralischen Sprachen um Jahrhunderte vorangehen (das erste syryjische Textdenkmal stammt aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, die ersten Texte der estnischen und der finnischen Sprachen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, während diejenigen der weiteren uralischen Sprachen noch später datiert werden können), sind Benkő's Forschungen auch in Anbetracht der Morphologie und Syntax der uralischen Sprachwissenschaft von großer Bedeutung. Ich möchte noch hinzufügen, daß die ungarischen Textdenkmäler — durch ihre relativ spätere Entstehung und durch ihre lautzeichnende Schriftart viel mehr phonetische Information liefern, als die hieroglyphischen Wortzeichen (ägyptisch, Sprache der Osterinsel, chinesisch) oder die silbenzeichnenden Schriftarten (japanisch) und auch mehr als die Schriftarten, die nur die Konsonanten angeben (hebräisch, arabisch). Die lateinischen Schriftzeichen eigneten sich

jedoch nicht zur Bezeichnung aller ungarischen Laute bzw. Phoneme (z. B. *s*, *z*, *zs*, *cs*, *ő*, *ü* usw.). Die Bezeichnung dieser Laute war lange schwankend, so ist die Feststellung der Lautwerte in unseren älteren Sprachdenkmälern sogar nach den hervorragenden Forschungen von István Knieszsa auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte der Orthographie nicht eindeutig.

In dem folgenden Kapitel (19—32) führt Benkő aus, warum er die gemeinsame Bearbeitung der vier Denkmäler für notwendig hält. Gewisse gemeinsame Züge dieser Sprachdenkmäler wurden schon früher bemerkt, es wurde auch geahnt, daß alle sicher oder wahrscheinlich eine Abschrift darstellen, jedoch ist Benkő der erste, der darauf hinweist, wie nahe die Sprache und die Orthographie dieser Sprachdenkmäler zueinander stehen, also können die Originale bedeutend früher datiert werden, als die Kodices, in welchen sie aufgefunden worden sind. Nach sorgfältigen Überlegungen datiert er die Entstehung der Altungarischen Leichenpredigt und Bitte auf das letzte Quartal des 12. Jahrhunderts, die des Königsberger Fragments und seiner Bänder auf die Wende der 12. und 13. Jahrhunderte, die der Altungarischen Marienklage auf die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, ferner die der Glossen von Gyulafehérvár [Karlsburger Glossen] auf die zweite Hälfte desselben Jahrhunderts. Die Abschriften werden um einige Jahrzehnte, um ein halbes Jahrhundert oder im Falle des Königsberger Fragments um anderthalb Jahrhundert später datiert. So ist es vorauszusetzen, daß die vier Denkmäler binnen drei Menschenalter, d. h. binnen eines Jahrhunderts entstanden und nicht im Laufe von zweieinhalb Jahrhunderten, wie man früher auf Grund des Alters der Abschriften glaubte.

Die Texte veröffentlicht Benkő in Form von Facsimile sehr guter Qualität, die Leichenpredigt und die Altungarische Marienklage in Farbkopie. Auch aus dieser Aufnahme geht hervor, daß wie auch ich selber im Jahr 1973 im Handschriftenarchiv der Universität Leuven zu meinem

Bedauern erfuhr — ein Teil unseres ersten Versdenkmales heute schon kaum zu lesen ist. Die mittelalterliche — aus Ruß verfertigte — Tinte ist vom Pergamentblatt stellenweise vollständig abgeschliffen, es ist kaum mehr als der Federkratz zu sehen. Zum Glück konnte eine gut lesbare Kopie davon verfertigt werden. Von den vier alten ungarischen Textdenkmälern befand sich — zur Zeit, als das Buch verfaßt wurde — in Ungarn im Original nur die Leichenpredigt. Das Königsberger Fragment und seine Bänder waren in der Bibliothek von Königsberg (jetzt Kaliningrad), ihr Schicksal ist aber seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg unbekannt. Die Altungarische Marienklage befand sich in der Bibliothek der Universität Leuven (Belgien), 1982 kam sie im Tauschweg nach Ungarn die Glossen von Gyulafehérvár [Karlsburger Glossen] sind im Institut Batthyaneum zu Gyulafehérvár (jetzt Alba Iulia) aufzufinden. Da die Bänder des Königsberger Fragments nach dem Original nicht zu kontrollieren sind, versucht Benkő den Text auf Grund der Photographie zu rekonstruieren und publiziert einen gedruckten buchstabentreuen Text (42—43). Danach folgen die Lesungen, d. h. die Texte transkribiert auf unser heutiges phonetisches System, wie sie im 13. Jahrhundert nach unseren heutigen phonetischen Kenntnissen lauten konnten. Diese Lesungen sind auch in unserem Universitätsunterricht wichtig, da sie sich auf den Kenntnissen unseres besten heutigen Experten basieren (47—53). Die Deutung stellt Benkő auf zweierlei Arten vor: a) Das mittelalterliche Denkmal wörtlich auf die heutige Literatursprache umgesetzt, b) Den Text auf eine freiere — etwa auf die heutige — Sprache übersetzt.

In sprachhistorischen Werken hat man bis jetzt die Silben- und Betonungsverhältnisse nicht einmal zu berühren gepflegt, daher ist dieser — übrigens ziemlich kurzer — Teil (63—69) vollständig neu und lückenfüllend. Ebenso verhältnismäßig ausführlich befaßt sich Benkő mit dem Problem der Konsonantenverknüpfun-

gen (80—85) und stellt klar, daß die heute sozusagen automatische Assimilation stimmhaften und stimmlosen, palatalen und der depalatalen, ferner die der Nasalen zur Bildungsstelle kontinuierlich vor sich gegangen sein könnte. Schon in seinen einleitenden Bemerkungen lenkt er die Aufmerksamkeit darauf, daß er sich in diesem Buche auch seiner früheren Auffassung und seinen früheren Lesungen entgegenstellt, mit denselben diskutiert. Ein schönes Beispiel dieser Entfaltung, der Aufwühlung der Autoritätsargumente sehen wir in dem Teil, in welchem er darauf hinweist, daß das lateinische Alphabet zur Widerspiegelung des ungarischen Vokalsystems nicht ausreichend war, da daraus die Möglichkeit der Unterscheidung zwischen *a* und *á*, zwischen *e* und *é*, ferner zwischen *ö*, *ü*, einerseits und *o*, *u*, andererseits fehlte; ebenso die Möglichkeit der Bezeichnung des Unterschiedes zwischen langen und kurzen Vokalen (89—121).

Besonders überzeugend beweist er — trotz den verschiedenen Bezeichnungsarten — die identische Zungenhöhe der parallelen palatalen und velaren Endungspaare (und Drillinge). Der Verfasser sucht in der Erklärung der Inkonssequenzen der mittelalterlichen Vokalbezeichnung ein sinngemäßes Kompromiß zwischen den Forschern, die mehr oder weniger im heutigen Lautwert lesen (Szinyeyi, Lazićius) und denjenigen, die laut Buchstaben lesen (Mészöly, Pais und teilweise Bárczi). Dieser Weg ist härter, diese Lösung schwerer, daher steht sie aber wahrscheinlich näher zur Realität.

In der Stammlehre werden übermäßig die im Wortinneren vorkommenden Konsonantengruppen der finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache, eingeschränkt (zwar behauptet Benkő nicht, daß kein anderer Typ existierte). Nachweislich sind nicht nur die Geminata *-pp-*, *-tt-*, *-kk-*, und der Typ *-mp-*, *-nt-*, *-ŋk-* (+ *ńc-*), sondern auch *-lk-*, *-sk-*, *-sk-*, *-lm-* ferner zahlreiche weitere Möglichkeiten, die in der Grundsprache mit wechselnder Frequenz vorkamen, (123—124). Auf der Seite 173.

wäre die Form *szëmëtëket* richtig so wie auch *szëmëtket* (anstatt *szëmëtëkët* und *szëmëtkët*).

Durch die Verknüpfung des Ausfalles der am Stammende und in der dritten offenen Silbe vorkommenden Vokale stellt der Verfasser ein Fragezeichen zum Verschwinden der am Stammende befindlichen Vokale durch Reduktion. Mit der ungarischen Erscheinung ist übrigens der Wegfall der Stammendvokale im Estnischen phonetisch einigermaßen parallel zu stellen. Dort ist nämlich der Stammendlaut dann abgeschliffen worden, wenn der Vokal der ersten Silbe lang oder aber die erste Silbe geschlossen war, z. B. *keel* 'Zunge' (~ fi. *kieli*), *tuul* 'Wind' (~ fi. *tuuli*) oder *must* 'schwarz' (~ fi. *musta*), *vald* 'Stärke' (~ fi. *valta*). Eine ähnliche Erscheinung kann man im Ungarischen finden: nach der Apokope des Stammendvokals verlängert sich oft der Vokal des kurzen Stammes, jedoch bleibt derselbe Vokal kurz in den flektierten Formen, im vollständigen Stamm: *tél* ~ *telet*, *nyár* ~ *nyarat*, *tűz* ~ *tüzes*, (siehe 178).

Der Wandel $*\gamma > g$ ist wirklich vorstellbar, da man für $*\eta > g$ zahlreiche Beispiele hat und dies auch über eine Zwischenstufe $*\gamma$ möglich ist. Die ηk haben mehrere wahrscheinlich deshalb eingefügt, da z. B. aus der grundsprachlichen Form $*j\eta\eta$ (cf. finnisch, estnisch *jää* 'Eis') im Wogulischen *jāηk*, im Ungarischen *jég* wurde, also identisch mit der Entwicklung des grundsprachlichen $*\eta k$: $*t\eta\eta k$ - (cf. finnisch *tunke*-, estnisch *tung*-) > ungarisch *dug*.

Die Behandlung des Imperativ (203–212) bietet die gründlichste und modernste Zusammenfassung dieses Problems; ebenso interessant und lehrreich ist, was der Autor über das nicht bezeichnete Objekt sagt (217–225).

Zur Entwicklung der aus Postpositionen (*belöl*, **belen*, *belé*) entstandenen ungarischen Suffixgruppe *-böl*, *-ben*, *-be* (230–232) findet man eine sehr gute Parallele im Wogulischen. Dort, in der nördlichen Mundart gibt es ein Wort *kiwər* 'das Innere

von etwas, der Innenteil, der Innenraum'. Die Adjektivform davon ist *kiwərη* 'leer'. Auch im Nordwogulischen benützt man dies etwa als Postposition, ergänzt mit richtungsangehenden Suffixen: *kol kiwərηəl* 'aus dem Hause (aus dem Inneren des Hauses)', *kol kiwərət* 'im Hause' *kol kiwərηn* 'ins Haus'. Aus der heute schon ausgestorbenen Mittel-Losma-Mundart sammelte Bernát Munkácsi in 1881–89 noch ein ziemlich reiches Material. In diesen Texten ist das obige Wort in der Form *kewr* ~ *kēur* ebenso mit der Bedeutung 'Innenteil' aufzufinden. Dasselbe wird aber auch als Suffix (Postposition?) in verkürzten und mit Suffixen versehenen Formen benützt: *kwäl kēr-podl* 'aus dem Hause', *kwäl kērt* ~ *kēt* 'im Hause' und *kwäl kērn* ~ *kēn* 'ins Haus'. Die beinahe zu einem Suffix abgeschliffenen Formen *kēt* und *kēn* findet man nur in Lokativ- und Lativbedeutungen.

Benkő, der Redakteur des Historisch-Etymologischen Wörterbuches, setzt sich manchmal mit einigen Feststellungen des genannten Wörterbuches auseinander, und revidiert sogar mehrere seiner eigenen früheren Meinungen.

Ganz neu und annehmbar ist seine Feststellung (258), wonach in den untersuchten Sprachdenkmälern auch das nahezeitige Demonstrativpronomen *ez* einer untersucht werden soll um festzustellen, ob es in seiner Benützung vielleicht schon einen Übergang zum Artikel gäbe, da es sowohl im Altertum, als auch heute Mundarten (Felsőőr [Oberwart], Örség, Tschango) gibt, in welchen sich der Artikel aus dem nahezeitigen Demonstrativpronomen entwickelte.

Was die phonetischen und morphologischen Probleme anbelangt, führt Benkő seine Meinung in erster Reihe bezüglich der vier Sprachdenkmäler aus, jedoch weist er überall auf die Vorläufer hin, und zwar nicht nur auf die früheren Streudenkmäler, sondern des öfteren bis zum ugrischen Zeitalter zurück; andererseits verfolgt er die Entwicklung der Erscheinungen weiter im Zeitalter der Kodices,

oft bis zur heutigen Umgangssprache und den Mundarten.

Ein reiches Kapitel widmet Benkő der Textanalyse und behandelt eingehend alle streitigen Details der Sprachdenkmäler, weist stellenweise auf die Möglichkeit der mehrfachen Deutung hin (288–350).

Im textologischen und stilistischen Kapitel analysiert er als erster die Sprachdenkmäler aus textologischem Gesichtspunkt und weist darauf hin, daß nicht nur die Altungarische Marienklage und das Königsberger Fragment Gedichte sind, sondern auch die weiteren behandelten frühen Sprachdenkmäler bewußt geschaffene rhythmische Prosa von sehr hohem Niveau darstellen (351–383). Zum Abschluß des Buches folgen ein Wortindex und sieben Portraits (Révai, Szinnyei, Horváth, Mészöly, Pais, Bárczi, Kniezsa).

Der Autor faßt nicht nur die bisherigen Ergebnisse zusammen, nimmt Stellung in den streitigen Problemen, sondern wirft auch viele neue Gesichtspunkte auf, erreicht neue, moderne Ergebnisse, behandelt die vier Sprachdenkmäler als Einheit. Er beweist, daß sowohl die Autoren, als auch die Abschreiber ungarischer Muttersprache waren. Aus dem Buch geht klar hervor, daß diese Texte einen weiten Kreis von mündlichen und schriftlichen Vorgängern gehabt haben müssen. Als Abschluß zitiere ich den letzten Absatz des Buches:

„... was sich aus unseren untersuchten Sprachdenkmälern entfaltet, stellt schon in seiner Gänze eine selbständige, ungarische Textbildung dar; diese bietet — nicht nur nach Maßgabe ihres eigenen Zeitalters, sondern auch nach Maßgabe der Kodex-Literatur der nachfolgenden Jahrhunderte — eine Leistung von außerordentlich hohem Anspruch und Wert, sie beweist glänzend das hohe Niveau der ungarischen Literatursprache und des Stils der Arpadenzeit. Dies ist ein bedeutender Faktor — welcher bisher vielleicht nicht entsprechend beobachtet und gewürdigt wurde — nicht nur der Kulturgeschichte ungarischer Muttersprache im engeren Sinne des Wortes, sondern

der ungarischen Kulturgeschichte im allgemeinen. Hier können wir eines der großartigsten Momente in der ungarischen Geisteskultur der zweiten Hälfte der Arpadenzeit in ihrer konkreten Realität fühlen. In diesen Texten entfaltet sich das Bild einer Sprachkultur — wenn auch all dies auf einen engen Kreis der Autoren und auf einen nicht zu weiten Kreis der Benützer zu verstehen sei — deren Erhabenheit, deren in der Einheit des Inhalts und der Form hervortretenden hohen Ansprüche und Schönheit die zu erreichen gewünschte Wirkung nicht nur in ihrem eigenen Zeitalter erreichte, sondern welche — die uralten Zeiten mit der Gegenwart verknüpfend — über die Perspektive vieler — auch sprachlich „härterer“ — Jahrhunderte durchglänzt und selbst den sprach- und stillkundigen Ungarn der heutigen Tage ergreift und fesselt.“ (382–383).

B. Kálmán

Klára Korompay: Középkori neveink és a Roland-ének [Les noms de personnes médiévaux hongrois et la Chanson de Roland]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1978. 95 p. (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 93. sz.)

De nombreux travaux ont été consacrés aux rapports historiques et linguistiques qui existaient au Moyen Age entre la France et la Hongrie. L'un des meilleurs résumés du problème est celui de Géza Bárczi. (Mots d'emprunt français dans la langue hongroise, Budapest 1938.) Il est à regretter que l'œuvre entière — excepté quelques passages — n'ait pas été publiée en français.

A l'époque des rois des maisons d'Arpad et d'Anjou, il y avait trois canaux par lesquels les influences culturelles pouvaient parvenir de France en Hongrie: 1) A la cour de la reine d'origine française, on trouve beaucoup de chevaliers et de dames français à la suite des rapports dynastiques, les influences françaises se faisaient ainsi sentir à la cour même. 2) Beaucoup de

religieux français exerçaient leur activité dans l'ordre bénédictin, et même quelques ordres français se sont installés en Hongrie, notamment les cisterciens et les prémontrés. 3) Dans la montagne de Tokaj la viticulture a été acclimatée par des colons français.

Bien que nous ne soyons pas en mesure d'apporter la preuve directe des chansons et des lectures populaires du Moyen Âge nous retrouvons souvent de l'existence en versions hongroises, parmi nos noms de personnes, et surtout dans les milieux aristocratiques les variantes hongroises de noms inspirés par la littérature. Ainsi le roman de Troie est évoqué par des anthroponymes comme *Achilles* (Ehellős), *Paris*, *Hector* (Iktár), *Priamus* (Perjámos), *Helena* (Ilona); le roman d'Alexandre par *Alexander*, *Philippus*, *Olimpiás*; les romans courtois par *Tristan* (Terestyén), *Lancelot-Lanceret*, *Yven*, *Ysalt*. Une partie de ces anthroponymes se sont conservés jusqu'à nos jours, sous forme de toponymes. Les noms tels que *Rolandus* et *Olivierus*, assez fréquents d'ailleurs, prouvent que le nom *Olivant-Éléfant*, nom du cor de Roland dans la Chanson, est devenu un anthroponyme en Hongrie.

L'étude de Klára Korompay se fonde sur l'examen de ces trois noms; elle traite leurs antécédents et leur histoire en Hongrie, pour tirer ensuite des conclusions générales.

Après une brève introduction (5—8), l'auteur présente aux lecteurs hongrois les résultats obtenus par d'autres chercheurs, surtout français, concernant l'origine de la Chanson de Roland, sa diffusion, ses versions, ainsi que l'origine et l'histoire des noms *Roland* et *Olivier*. L'auteur cite en premier lieu les recherches de R. Menéndez Pidal, de Rita Leujeune, de P. Aebischer et de Boissonnade (9—22).

La partie principale du travail (22—48) est constituée par le recensement des personnages de l'époque Arpadienne (XI^e—XIII^e siècles) qui portaient des noms provenant de la Chanson de Roland. On trouve 66 personnes de cette période qui

portaient l'une des variantes du nom *Roland*, 42 personnes portaient celles du nom *Olivier*, 13 personnes celles du nom *Olivant*, et on relève 5 personnes pour les versions du nom *Éléfant*; d'ailleurs, ces deux derniers peuvent être considérés comme les formes principales d'un seul nom.

Dans la partie consacrée aux conclusions onomastiques (49—75), l'auteur s'occupe du problème général de l'attribution de noms, examinant aussi le fait important que ces noms ont souvent des rapports entre eux (père et fils ou bien deux frères). Ce fait prouve la connaissance de la Chanson de Roland à l'époque donnée, parce qu'on savait que ces noms venaient d'une seule œuvre littéraire. Il est difficile d'expliquer comment le nom du cor de Roland a pu devenir nom de personne uniquement en Hongrie.

Dans les chartes latines de la même époque, le nom Roland figure dans 80 % des cas sous la forme *Rolandus*, dans 6 % des cas sous la forme *Rorandus* et dans 5 % seulement sous la forme de *Lorandus*. Le reste se partage entre la simple notation R. et la forme rare, italianisante, *Orlandus*—*Arlandus*. Les versions latino-hongroises du nom *Olivier* sont : *Oliverius*—*Oliverio*—*Oliverii* ou bien *Oliverus*—*Olivero*—*Oliveri* tandis que la variante hongroise du nom *Olivant* est *Éléfant*. Dans l'histoire ultérieure des noms, au XIV^e siècle, ce sont les variantes *Lorandus* et *Oliverus* qui deviennent prédominantes. Leur diffusion géographique est présentée par l'auteur à l'aide de quatre cartes. Le nom Roland est fréquent à l'Ouest, la plupart des données proviennent des anciens départements de Nyitra, Bars, Esztergom, Győr, Sopron, Vas, Zala et de la Croatie; le nom *Olivier* s'est répandu dans les départements de Zala, Heves, Győr et Baranya; et c'est dans le département de Zala que le nom *Roland* est associé le plus souvent au nom *Olivier*. C'est aussi à l'Ouest, surtout dans le département de Zala, que se présentent le plus fréquemment les formes *Olivant-Éléfant*, comme anthroponi-

nymes et toponymes. Les porteurs de ces trois noms et de leurs variantes étaient généralement de haute naissance à l'époque Arpadienne. Une partie de ceux qui portaient le nom *Roland* remplissaient des fonctions importantes à l'État ou bien à l'Église (prévôt, palatin, voïvode de Transylvanie, évêque, comte châtelain, "comes"); il n'y avait parmi eux qu'un seul "villanus" pendant le XIII^e siècle. La situation est la même pour les noms *Olivér* et *Olivant*.

Dans le bref aperçu ayant trait à l'histoire de la civilisation (76—91), nous apprenons que les trois noms étaient connus surtout dans les colonies françaises d'autrefois, bien que les porteurs de ces noms fussent des Hongrois.

En somme, les résultats de l'auteur sont les suivants: 1) L'association des noms *Roland* et *Olivier* et l'existence du nom hongrois *Olivant* laissent conclure que la Chanson de Roland était connue en Hongrie au Moyen Âge. 2) Parmi les nombreuses versions de la Chanson de Roland, on devait connaître une qui décrivait la bataille de Roncevaux d'une manière détaillée. 3) On peut tenir compte d'emprunts réitérés. 4) C'est vers 1100 que cette matière épique a dû être importée de l'Italie du Sud par la cour des reines normandes et la famille des Rátót. 5) La tradition était connue en premier lieu à la Cour du roi. 6) On peut supposer qu'elle était connue dans les colonies vallonnées également. 7) L'allemand et l'italien peuvent être considérés comme des langues intermédiaires éventuelles, mais l'emprunt direct au français semble plus probable.

B. Kálmán

Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok XII. Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem, Debrecen, 1979.

Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok XII [Hungarian Studies in English XII] is a collection of fourteen papers from the

first international seminar of English and American Studies to be held in Hungary. Held at Lajos Kossuth University, Debrecen, in September 1978, it celebrates the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the English Department there. Judging by the quality of these papers, one can only hope that there is soon another international conference on English in Hungary. All of these papers are well worth reading; each is from an internationally known authority in his field and each paper makes an original contribution to its field. The papers can be divided into three groups: the first three papers include discussions relating to Hungary and the relationship between English and Hungarian, the fourth through the eighth papers discuss literary topics and the last six papers cover areas of English linguistics. All of the papers are highly readable, provocative, and insightful. While each contributes to its field, all of them are worth reading for any scholar interested in English language and literature.

In the first paper, "Inauguration Cancelled," Sándor Maller relates the attempts to establish an English department in Debrecen in 1938 and 1939. It is interesting to see the steps taken to officially open the department, even though World War II cancelled its inauguration. The second article, "Anglomania in Hungary, 1780—1900" by László Országh, traces the development of Anglomania from its beginning in the 1780's to its height in the 1820's through the 1840's and its decline beginning with the Reform Age in 1849. Particularly interesting in this article is Országh's lists of English words that both measure English influence and show the cultural areas in which English has been most influential.

"Forty Years of Hungarian Literature in English" examines the reception of Hungarian literature in England since 1939, the year when the English Department at Debrecen was to have been officially inaugurated. Cushing points out that two major problems impede the reception of

Hungarian literature in England: 1) the difficulty of bridging the wide gap between the "real" literature in Hungary and the taste of English readers and 2) the enormous number of books published in England and the few translations of any language. The first problem is compounded because, as anyone who views Hungarian literature from the outside soon realizes, it, like American literature, is inward looking and requires a knowledge of the history and culture of Hungary. However, Cushing is rightly optimistic about the future of Hungarian literature in translation. One has to expect that excellent anthologies such as Albert Tezla's *Ocean at the Window: Hungarian Prose and Poetry Since 1945* (University of Minnesota Press, 1981) will continue to introduce English speakers to the high quality of Hungarian writers.

John Fletcher begins the literary group of papers with "From 'Gentle Reader' to 'Gentle Skimmer'; or Does it Help to Read Swift as if He Were Samuel Beckett?". While he begins by answering his question with a tentative, "we should read writers as being part of their times, even though we can not entirely do so," Fletcher's primary concern is with how to read Beckett and Swift. Both writers need to be read by active, participating collaborator-readers and while Beckett needs to be read as a play, as an oral reading, Swift needs only the active, participating intelligence of the educated reader. However, Swift is typical of neo-classical writers with their elevated view of their calling so that he tries to instruct his readers while entertaining them. In contrast, Beckett has a pessimistic, hopeless view of mankind's predicament. In finally answering his question, Fletcher feels that, "yes," the reader can read Swift as if he were Beckett—provided that he remember his role as reader and does not forget the milieu of the times. To do so would be to pay "Beckett the immense compliment of associating him with one of the greatest imaginative writers in the history of literature" (58).

In "Changing Functions and Forms of Modern British Drama," Günther Klotz describes the alternative theater which came out in Britain during the 1960's. While these playwrights use different forms in their plays, they all use their plays as a means to make the audience aware of the crisis of the present social system and to demonstrate the necessity for a democratic social change. As a means of reinforcing their theme, the playwrights involve the audience actively as participants in the production of the play in ways ranging from their being given robes and being made members of the tribe that are the jury which must render a decision in Ardian Mitchell's *Man Friday*, to having the play performed in a room such as a meeting room, dance hall or pub that normally serves as the center of their social life, as is done in John Grath's *The Chevoit*, the *Stag*, and the *Black, Black Oil*. The common theme running through these plays is an anti-imperialist presentation of living conditions and social contradictions which make the audience aware of the international tendency of history to move from capitalism to socialism and thus to a democratic change.

Orm Øverland in "Ole Edvart Rølvaag and Giants in the Earth: A Writer Between Two Countries" documents how, as a writer and as a human being, Rølvaag was caught between two countries. Symbolizing the immigrant experience, his books were about the American Experience while his language was Norwegian. Rølvaag and his fellow immigrants were not Norwegians, but a people of Norwegian origin in America. Because of this, as Øverland points out, a full appreciation of Rølvaag is possible only for those who have an acquaintance with both the American and Norwegian backgrounds. It was this conflict in Rølvaag that led him to claim that his main concern as a writer was the psychological and the cultural cost of immigration and pioneering. It was this concern that made him rise above being merely a chronicler of the Norwegian

American experience. He captured and recorded one of the dominant conflicts experienced by immigrants to America, regardless of their nationality. Ultimately, it is his capturing this universal experience that gives Rølvaag his greatness.

John B. Vickery in "Myths and Fiction in the Contemporary American Novel: the case of John Barth" contends that the contemporary concern with the concept of fictions stems in large part from modernism's interest in myth... "Artists, as well as others, have gradually come to recognize that a myth is a fiction of a particular order, that it is a narrative, and that it originates in the story-telling and -hearing propensity of the human mind and society" (90). Using *The Floating Opera*, *The End of the Road*, *Giles Goat-Boy*, and *Chimera*, Vickery shows how virtually all of Barth's creative effort involves the interpretation of myth in literature. Yet Barth does not merely create new myths. Closely intertwined with his use of myth is Barth's parody. It is, finally, parody that is the end-point toward which Barth's myth and narrative inevitably move as they endeavor to describe the nature of reality.

In the last article in this section, "Myth: the Dilemma of the American Novelist," Zsolt Virágos briefly traces the history of the use of myth in the literature from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century. He then concentrates on the use of the term 'myth' in contemporary America and shows how its use in as different fields as anthropology and psychology both affect and is affected by literature. However, the principal dilemma of the American novelist is that the "world of classical mythology, of historical reference, of scriptural allusion, on which a preponderant part of European and English poetry is built... is receding from our natural reach" (117). Yet the very obscurity of a body myth may be exploited because its distance is imaginatively useful, and this is what the current American novelist seems to be doing.

The linguistics section begins with John Anderson's "Subjecthood", an article which points out how most frameworks for grammatical descriptions have included grammatical relations such as subject and object. However, Anderson argues that the nonuniversality of subjecthood is consistent with the derived status accorded to the subject by case grammars; it is, however, quite inimical to a theory of the relational grammar whose universals and rules are framed in terms of grammatical relations such as subject. While Anderson's arguments present a good many insights into the nature of grammatical relations, he ultimately does not discredit relational grammars. However, arguments such as Anderson's were instrumental in Chomsky's development of the Revised Extended Standard Model of Transformational Grammar in which he incorporated a form of case (which he calls thematic relations) as a part of a deep structure while maintaining much of the apparatus of his earlier models. Unfortunately, most of this work came out at about the same time as (or later than) Anderson's paper, so that it could not be incorporated.

The next paper, "Goal over Source" by Yosihiko Ikegami, also discusses case. Ikegami views the semantic system of the cases not as something independently definable, but as something to be derived from the types of structures that underlie the meaning of the verbs. What makes this such a provocative and worthwhile article is that most linguists describe case in connection with nouns, not verbs. He focuses his paper upon goal and source, providing evidence that indicates that source and goal do not constitute an equal and mutually contrasting pair of concepts. In fact, language seems to manifest a dissymmetry with regard to these features. Ikegami builds a strong case for his arguments; a particularly interesting part of his discussion is the evidence that comes from historical change. While there seems to be a tendency for goal and location markers to become neutralized,

a corresponding neutralization does not commonly seem to take place between source and location markers, providing evidence that source is relatively unmarked while goal is relatively marked. His work on source and goal led Ikegami to hypothesize that there are two types of languages: HAVE and DO languages such as English and BE and BECOME languages such as Japanese. In the HAVE and DO languages, the notion of the human being as capable of acting on his own initiative, i.e. as agent, is given prominence so that the subject is commonly associated with agent even when the object of the action is a human being, so that source is emphasized. On the other hand, BE-BECOME languages, such as Japanese, tend to suppress the notion of agent even when a human is involved with the event; the focus is on the whole event. Thus in a DO-HAVE language, emphasis is given to the human being as one who acts on his own initiative, while in a BE-BECOME language, the human tends to be represented as something affected by, rather than controlling, the event.

Katalin É. Kiss in "A Note on the Interpretive Theory of Pronominalization" presents a survey of three major rival generative theories of pronominalization: transformational, the bound variable, and the interpretive approach. Using data from Hungarian, Kiss demonstrates that both the classical transformational theory and the bound variable framework have no problem accounting for the Hungarian data. However, the interpretive framework, as described by Jackendoff's *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972) has to be modified so that pronouns are not generated in the initial structure, but merely stated by a set of features. Interestingly, since Kiss's article, a similar model, with slightly different features, has been adopted by Chomsky as his Revised Extended Standard Theory. However, this article provides a strong warning that theories of universal grammar need to be

based upon evidence from more than one language.

Béla Korponay in "The Ablative and the Instrumental", an abridged chapter of his book *The Outlines of a Hungarian-English Case Grammar*, provides an up-to-date description of parts of the Hungarian case system as an aid to English and Hungarian language teachers showing their students the relationship between English prepositions and Hungarian case endings. One can only wish that all teachers of Hungarian to English speakers and of English to Hungarian speakers would read Korponay's book. This paper provides an excellent elucidation of the ablative and instrumental.

Leonhard Lipka's "Semantic Components of English Nouns and Verbs and Their Justification" examines the semantic component of language and proposes a seven feature typology of semantics: denotative, connotative, inferential, relational, transfer, deictic and distinctive. In addition, he examines the semantic features of BUT as a way of testing binary features. After this examination of the semantic component, Lipka concludes that we cannot "dispense with the theoretical construct of semantic component, despite all the difficulties which still exist. We must attempt to construct a metalanguage, even if it represents a simplified and abstracted view of reality" (201). His description of the semantics of BUT is the beginning of such an attempt.

In the last article, "The Dialectal Structure of British English: Lowman's Evidence", Wolfgang Viereck traces the developments of the study of British English dialects from the beginnings when Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte delivered a paper on April 7, 1876, to the Philological Society in which he described the dialects of eleven southern and south-western counties of England and continues his discussion of the study of British dialect through the recent description by Guy S. Lowman and Harold Orton. After this historical survey, Viereck limits his discus-

sion to the material collected by Lowman. He points out both the weakness (too much attention paid to rural England) and the strength (Lowman's data is corroborated by those of others). In addition, Viereck subjects Lowman's work to quantitative analysis so that abstractions are able to be produced (including maps) from the raw data.

In summary, the papers collected from the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the English Department of Lajos Kossuth University are all well worth reading. One can only hope that it is not another 40 years before another such international seminar on English and American Studies takes place in Hungary.

M. D. Linn

Е. И. Ромбандеева: Синтаксис мансийского языка. Nauka, Moscow 1979, 156 p.

Recent years have seen vigorous movement in the scientific study of language towards various attempts at synthesizing new trends, approaches and procedures which have to clear up a number of crucial points in linguistics.

Even students of syntax who, for some or other reasons, were during many decades lagging behind the researchers of other levels of language are having nowadays their golden age.

Remarkable is the success contemporary schools of syntactic theory have achieved.

But together with success much controversy has come to the surface recently, even in the most essential questions of syntax.

To solve these controversies linguistics has to rely upon the results of insight into the syntactic systems, structures and devices of as many genetically and structural-typologically different languages as possible. This is the only way to step forward in postulating syntactic universals

(definitional, empirical, selective, formal, connective, etc.) comparable in their advancement and methodological sophistication to phonetical (phonological), morphological, word-formational, and lexico-semantic universals.

This is why we should welcome the monograph under review, which is a serious attempt of Y. I. Romandeyeva to give an insightful study of the syntactic system, structure, and devices of the Vogul (Mansi) language [VL], a native speaker of which she is.

The analysis of the syntactic system, structures and devices is based on the linguistic material of the Northern dialects of the VL, collected and recorded by the author during a scientific expedition in the Khanti-Mansi region of the Tumen district.

The Introduction gives general information about the structure of the VL. The Vogul language has a complicated system of syntax. The main feature of the Vogul sentence is that it has a predicate and a subject which is either lexically expressed or implied in the personal finite verb form, with indication of Person, Number and Tense. The VL can be characterized by complete sentences: the sentences are either two-member ones (with subject and predicate) or one-member ones (with the verbal predicate in a finite form). If the predicate is expressed by a transitive verb, there can be (besides the markers of person, number and tense) a special morpheme indicating the object of the action, which is perceived by the speaker as something definite. The direct object of the sentence, which denotes such an object, can be omitted without a change in meaning or making the sentence ungrammatical. The author shows that the predicate can be a nominal one; in this case, the main parts of the sentence have only number agreement. The VL lacks special grammatical cases for distinguishing between subject and object. The words that denote them can both have the common case as a formal marker. What differenti-

ates these functions is their particular order in the sentence: the subject always comes before the object. The VL has only the attribute and adverbials as secondary sentence parts.

The first chapter, "Types of syntactic relations", gives the outline of coordinate and subordinate sentences (the latter include the following relations: government, adjoining, and agreement). As the author points out, there exist parallel syntactic constructions consisting of postpositional and inflectional government, which are of special interest. Postpositional constructions are used to detail spatial-temporal relations; flectional constructions are employed when their abstraction is emphasized, e.g.: *ma tarməl ul xujen, sisen mǎnn xartāwe, āvmāñiy jēmti* 'Do not lie on the ground, it will draw your shoulders closer, it will cause you pain' and *mǎnn ul xujen* 'Do not lie on the ground' (generally speaking). Postpositional constructions are widely used and serve to express spatial relations like 'being on something' (*tarməl*), 'being above something' (*numipāl*), 'moving past something' (*tāra*), 'moving along something' (*xosil*), and circumstantial relations. In the VL, as in many other Uralic and Altaic languages, another type (adjoining) is the commonest of all syntactic relationships. In the case of adjoining, the sense relation in word combinations with adverbial meaning is particularly close: e.g.: *justam wine xōtal mios in nila xōtal* 'till (we get the) (salary) (there are) four days'. Y. I. Rombandeyeva shows convincingly that syntactic agreement in the VL is not restricted to subject and predicate; it also effects the predicate-object relation. The following types of conjugation can be distinguished: objective, non-objective, subjective-passive — these are determined by the grammatical meaning of definiteness/indefiniteness.

The second chapter of the book under review, entitled "The simple sentence", gives the classification of sentences according to: a) the character of the relation of

the sentence to objective reality (assertive and negative sentences); b) communicational intention and intonation features (indicative, interrogative sentences, etc.); c) sentence structure (one-member and two-member sentences). The classification of sentences according to communicative purpose and modality does not have specific peculiarities in the VL; though, there exist special vocative forms, e.g.: *sopra puñiy-ōw, mas-xāten* 'Sopra-idol, get dressed' (the addressee of the invocation is expressed by the particle *-ow*).

The sentences of the VL (as in many other languages) can be complete, incomplete, personal, impersonal, indefinite, general-subjective, nominative. A specific feature of the VL, for example, is that elliptical syntactic structures may also be included in the group of complete sentences. Elliptical sentences are used if the predicate is expressed by a verb in subjective-passive conjugation, or if the subject is expressed by a personal pronoun, e.g.: *pupakwe l'ōñ-xēt t'e mostēw, juw ta mol' amtax tew* 'When we spot the trail of the bear, we immediately hurry home'.

In this sentence, the subject, expressed by a personal pronoun, is missing (as a lexical unit) but is indicated by the personal verb form of the predicate.

As the author points out, the following structures of the VL are of special interest: participial constructions, in particular a certain type of participial constructions which function as subordinate adverbial clauses of time. They consist of a participle in the function of predicate — the participle is formed by some verbal suffix (in the "non-evident-action" mood form) plus the formant *-t*, which expresses the past tense of this verb, e.g.: *juw joxtumuw, ānin tēpuw, pūten tēpuw tās* 'When we returned home, a meal had already been prepared for us'.

Word-order in the VL, compared to other Finno-Ugric languages, has certain differences. It is entirely dependent on the semantic content of the sentence and on the means of expressing the meaning of

definiteness/indefiniteness; and this, in turn, is reflected in the morphological features of the parts of the sentence, which are determined by the logical intonation. It is only the attribute that has its permanent position in relation to the word that it modifies, e.g.: *ātām tūp* 'father's scull', *jīw kol* 'wooden house', etc. Logical intonation, as the author emphasizes, has a great influence on the whole grammatical system of the language, and it has a number of functions. These are: the distinguishing function, i.e. the accentuation of that necessary word in the clause which undergoes certain grammatical changes; the expressing of the action's grammatical meaning of completedness or modality; the function of the expression of the definiteness/indefiniteness opposition.

In the study, special consideration is given to the description of the logical intonation of the VL; the variants of logical sentence intonation are shown in the form of a table. In connection with the definiteness/indefiniteness opposition, the author claims that it is characteristic "not only of the object but also of the subject of the action" (100). Y. I. Rombandeyeva asserts that the VL lacks the passive voice as such.

The third chapter, "Complex sentences", gives the analysis of sentences which contain explanatory and sequential semantic relation. Less characteristic of the VL are subordinate clauses of cause and effect; the number of concessive and qualitative clauses is extremely small. The majority of complex sentences of the VL are asyndetic.

Rombadeyeva's book, in spite of the fact that the author was sometimes under the hypnosis of the categories of formal logic and could not avoid some pitfalls of pressing the living body of the VL into apriori constructed rough-and-ready pigeon-holes of syntactic constructions, is a timely study of the syntactic issues thus brought to the fore.

S. Rot

Hansjakob Seiler (ed.): *Language Universals. Papers from the Conference held at Gummersbach/Cologne, Germany, October 3—8, 1976. "Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik" No. 111.* Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen 1978, 328 стр.

Типология как раздел языкознания имеет свою славную вековую историю. Но только в наши дни, когда под влиянием Ф. де Соссюра и она освободилась от «субстанционных» пут классического языкознания, все новые области типологии текста и системы помогают лучше понять сложный механизм кибернетической системы языка, его функционирования, восстанавливать прихотливые изоглоссы протоязыковых фресок различных языковых семей и, дедуцируя весомые языковые универсалии, содействуют подлинно-научному описанию того множества языков мира, которые индоевропеоцентризм лингвистической науки долго оставлял на задворках дилетантского экзотикума.

Началом нового этапа в структурной типологии, выросшей из де-соссюровской лингвистической онтологии, следует считать появление современных идей об универсалиях.

Термин «универсалии языка» в современном значении, очищенном, благодаря усилиям Р. Якобсона, Ч. Хоккета, Дж. Гринберга, Е. Косериу, В. Скалички, Б. Успенского, Г. Зайлера, В. Н. Ярцевой, Л. Дэже, Г. Климова, О. Семерени, Ю. Рождественского и др. от физикализма и философской категоризации мира, от гипноза латинской грамматики, от заблуждений последователей порт-рояльской универсальной грамматики, помогает дедуцированию полезных языковых генерализаций.

Эти генерализации, обнаруженные на основе глубокого анализа языкового материала, являются по своей природе «суммарными утверждениями» о характеристиках или тенденциях, распределенных среди всех говорящих. В этом качестве они составляют самые общие законы науки о

языке (в отличие от метода и ряда специфических результатов дескрипции).¹

Всего двадцать лет прошло со времени Нью-Йоркской конференции² по универсалиям, которая своим Манифестом положила начало интенсивным изысканиям в области дедуцирования весомых языковых генерализаций. И какие большие достижения в этой новой области современной типологии, добытые усилиями исследователей различных стран мира, в первую очередь США, СССР, ФРГ, Франции, Англии, Японии, Австрии, Венгрии, ГДР, Чехословакии.

Однако вместе с достижениями появились и ряд существенных противоречий, диаметрально противоположных суждений по самым существенным вопросам концептуальных, эмпирических, эссенциальных, селективных, имплицированных универсалий.³

Большой вклад в устранение этих противоречий вносят различные научно-исследовательские группы по проблемам языковых универсалий в том числе и кёльнская (ФРГ), возглавляемая выдающимся лингвистом проф. Г. Зайлером. Эта научно-исследовательская группа, которая завоевала уже признание в лингвистических кругах различных стран, организовала с 3 по 8 октября 1976 г. в Гуммерсбахе (Кёльне) международную конференцию по самым существенным проблемам языковых универсалий.

В работе этой конференции участвовало 25 видных учёных из 7 стран Европы, Америки. Замечательным было то, что, проводя большую подготовку в этой конференции, проф. Г. Зайлер обратился к учёным различных стран с просьбой дать

ему письменные ответы на 12 вопросов, охватывающих важные проблемы языковых универсалий. Ответы на эти вопросы были опубликованы как 25-ый том Работ кёльнского проекта по проблемам языковых универсалий под названием "Materials for the DFG International Conference on Language Universals" (Hansjakob Seiler ed., Arbeiten des Kölner Universalienprojekts, vol. 25) [Материалы к Международной конференции по вопросам языковых универсалий].⁴

И вот на этой, так тщательно подготовленной конференции были всесторонне обсуждены доклады по проблемам: «понятия универсалии», «детерминации и дескрипции» (как универсальные дименсии языковой структуры), «общей типологии», «типологии существительного» и «типологии глагола». Полные тексты этих докладов были опубликованы в рассматриваемом сборнике, вышедшем в 1978г. в серии "Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik" (Gunter Narr; Hansjakob Seiler (ed)) [Тюбингенские работы в области лингвистики издательства Г. Нарр, Тюбинген, под редакцией проф. Г. Зайлера].

Рецензируемый сборник кроме докладов, обсужденных на данной конференции, содержит два важных исследования, а именно, работы Э. Л. Кигана и Р. Том, которые поступили к редактору уже после гуммерсбахского/кёльнского международного форума.

Что характеризует работы рассматриваемого сборника?

Все работы рецензируемого сборника проникнуты стремлением сказать весомое слово по самым существенным вопросам языковых универсалий или структурной типологии вообще на основе глубокого анализа эмпирического материала.

¹ См. Рождественский Ю.: Типология слова. Москва 1969.

² См. Universals of Language². Cambridge (Mass.) 1966.

³ См. Coseriu, E.: Linguistic (and Other) Universals, estratto da: Linguistics at the crossroads. Liviana Editrice 1977.

⁴ См. Materials for the DFG (= Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) International Conference on Language Universals held at Gumpersbach October 4—8, 1976. Arbeit des Kölner Universalienprojekts, Bd. 25. Köln 1976.

Так, уже в статье Г. Зайлера [Hansjakob Seiler] "The Cologne project on language universals: Questions, objectives, and prospects" [Кёльнский проект по вопросам языковых универсалий: вопросы, состояние дел и перспективы] (стр. 11–25), автор излагает теоретические основы, стратегию, тактику, методiku и достижения возглавляемой им кёльнской научно-исследовательской группы по проблемам языковых универсалий. Весьма интересны мысли автора о языковом варьировании, языковых импликациях, их взаимосвязях, а также их иерархии.

Методологические вопросы изучения языковых универсалий подняты в работе П. Л. Гаврэна [Paul L. Gavrin]: "An epistemological perspective on universal research" [Эпистемологическая перспектива изучения языковых универсалий] (стр. 27–31). Автор излагает в сжатой форме свои мысли о значении термина «языковые универсалии», формулирует свои основные принципы дедуцирования языковых универсалий в рамках эпистемологии. Жаль только, что эти важные методологические принципы имеют в значительной мере декларативный характер.

В интересной работе Э. Холенштайн [Elmar Holenstein] "Präliminarien zu einer Theorie der funktionalen Aspekte der Sprache" [Предварительные мысли к теории функциональных аспектов языка] (стр. 33–52) даны философские и лингвистические аспекты функционализма, телеологии, таксономии и их классификация. Эта работа, уходя своими корнями в седую историю (к Аристотелю), помогает «расчистить путь» к подлинному применению теории изоморфизма в науке о языке и, шире в филологической науке.

Известно, что среди специалистов прикладной лингвистики и, в первую очередь, среди теоретиков и практиков обучения неродному языку, все больше и больше ширится принцип «порога» (threshold). К. Л. Пайк [Kenneth L. Pike] в своей небольшой по объему работе "Thresholdism versus reduction" [Идеи порога в противопоставлении редукционизму] (стр. 53–85) ставит

и решает существенные вопросы о взаимосвязи отраслей науки, тагмемики, иерархии универсалий в человеке, взаимоотношения между языком и мышлением.

Х. ван ден Боом [Holger van den Boom] в своей работе "Eine Explikation des linguistischen Universalienbegriffs" [Одно возможное объяснение понятия языковой универсалии] (стр. 59–78.) умело решает на основе принципов математической логики самые «противоречивые» вопросы теории и практики дедуцирования языковых универсалий.

Р. Том [René Thom] в новаторской работе, озаглавленной "La double dimension de la grammaire universelle" [Двойное измерение универсальной грамматики] (стр. 79–89) по-новому ставит сложные вопросы предикативности и онтогенеза языка. Приходится лишь сожалеть, что автор не знаком с работами В. Ягхольма, в которых ряд моментов, перекликающихся с его воззрениями. Теория вариативности переживает свой «золотой век». Работы У. Лабова, его выводы о принципах «ингренетного варьирования», выросшие из критики постулатов Н. Хомского об «идеальном компетентном говорящем на родном языке», открывает новые перспективы и перед исследователями языковых универсалий. Об этом свидетельствует замечательная работа Э. Кинана [Edward Keenan]: "Language variation and the logical structure of universal grammar" [Языковое варьирование и логическая структура универсальной грамматики] (стр. 89–123), в которой по-новому освещен ряд больных вопросов теории языковых универсалий, как напр., вопросы инвариантности языковых универсалий, вопросы экстраполяции, проблема генеративной парадигмы, вопросы «дизайна», семантики, обязательных и факультативных критериев их структурного моделирования, проблема языкового варьирования.

Г. Парре [Herman Parret] в своей работе "A note on pragmatic universals of language" [Заметка о прагматике языковых универсалий] стр. (125–140.), продолжая свои прежние изыскания в области философии

фии языка и структурной типологии,⁵ попытаться весьма оригинально рассмотреть вопросы прагматики в языке, методологические принципы дименсиозности и дедуцирования языковых универсалий. Интересно отметить, что некоторые его выводы перекликаются с мыслями В. Скалички — патриарха современной типологии, а также с выводами Г. Зайлера, Б. Успенского, Э. Моравчик, Л. Дэже и др.

Благотворное влияние С. Асколи, М. Бартоли и других представителей итальянской школы ареальной лингвистики сказывается и на весьма оригинальной работе П. Рамат [Paolo Ramat]: "Infinit Universalien vs. finite Typologie?" [Инфинитные универсалии и их противопоставление финитной типологии?] (стр. 141—148). Используя результаты изысканий Х. Бауманна, Л. Дэже, К. Г. Хемпеля, С. Д. Кацнельсона, Г. В. Кольшанского, В. Лефельдта, Г. Зайлера, Э. Косериу, Э. Кинана и др., но пытается по-новому раскрыть связь между общей типологией и теорией языковых универсалий.

Ведущий венгерский типолог Л. Дэже [László Dezső] в своей работе "Approaches to typology: complex types versus processes, dimensions" [Подходы к типологии: комплексные типы и их противопоставление процессам и дименсиям] (стр. 149—155) убедительно показывает, что современная типология предоставляет исследователю ряд методологических приемов. Он хорошо раскрывает сущность комплексных типов (эргативных и номинативных), выясняет их отношение к т. н. процессам и дименсиям. Интересны и убедительны его выводы об изосинтаксических связях между агглютинативностью и флективностью с одной стороны, и порядком слов в предложении, коммуникативным динамизмом (Ф. Данеш) его темы и ремы, с другой.

⁵ См. Parret, H.: *Indépendance et interdépendance de la forme et de la fonction du langage*. In: "Revue Philosophique de Louvain" 73 [1975] 56—78; он же, *Principes de la déduction pragmatique*. In: "Revue Internationale de Philosophie" 30 [1976] 486—510.

В своей второй работе, озаглавленной: "A typological interpretation of frequentals" [Типологическая интерпретация фреквенталий] (стр. 157—163.), Л. Дэже [László Dezső] вносит ряд существенных уточнений самого лингвистического термина «фреквенталия», введенного в науку о языке Б. А. Серебренниковым.⁶ Наглядно показаны особенности лингвистической характеристики фреквенталий и методологические принципы их дедуцирования (на основе сопоставления индивидуальных синхронного и диахронного порядка). Автор детально рассматривает лингвистическую сущность импликационных фреквенталий на уровне синтаксиса (порядок: *regens post rectum*; *regens ante rectum*), морфологии (вид и время глагола), их исторические изменения и говорит о необходимости дальнейшего типологического изучения видовременных проблем, выделения весомых универсалий и индивидуалий. Для достижения этого, по нашему мнению, весьма перспективным является сплошное обследование языков и диалектов, функционирование в определенном лингвистическом ареале, например в Карпатском или в северной части евроазиатско-американском, и выведения нужных языковых генерализаций.

Р. Хецрон [Robert Hetzron], сделавший немало для того, чтобы языковые генерализации в полной мере учитывали эмпирический материал языков различных семей и систем, в первую очередь, семитских финно-угорских и др. в своей работе "On the relative order of adjectives" [Об относительной последовательности прилагательных] (стр. 165—184.) пытается на основе изучения эмпирического материала современных английского, немецкого, польского, французского, итальянского, испанского, румынского, персидского, хинди, амхарского, японского, баскского, чичева и венгерского выяснить Закономерности отношений между внутренней структурой

⁶ Серебренников, Б. А.: *Вероятностные обоснования в компаративистике*. Москва 1974.

моносем, т.е. значением прилагательных, и порядком их последовательности в синтаксической функции определения или прилагательных, и сделать из этого необходимые языковые генерализации. Выводы автора хорошо аргументированы. Они имеют как теоретическое, так и прикладное значение.

Проблемы нейролингвистики стоят в последние годы в центре внимания многих исследователей. Наблюдения и выводы этой — рожденной на путях изоморфизма лингвистики и медицины и бурно развивающейся — области науки имеют большое теоретическое и практическое значение. Об этом свидетельствует и работа В. Губера [Walter Huber] "A neurolinguistic look at language universals" [Нейролингвистическое воззрение на языковые универсалии] (стр. 185—206.), в которой после критического обзора некоторых новых экспериментальных работ, посвященных проблемам анатомии мозга человека, мозговых центров, порождающих речь, обсуждены вопросы развития языковой латерализации, нейролингвистические универсалии, дан глубокий анализ нейролингвистических явлений афазии (супрамодалные и унимодалные факторы нейроформаций; сохраняемость и распад языковых элементов и т.д.). Выводы автора очень важны для прикладной лингвистики, в особенности для обоснования подлинно-научной методики обучения родному и неродному языкам.

Вопросы лексической номинации издревле волнуют лингвистов, психологов, и философов всех школ и направлений. Они стоят в центре внимания и интересной работы Ф. И. Стаховяка [Franz J. Stachowiak] "Some universal aspects of naming as linguistic activity" [Несколько универсальных аспектов номинации как явления языковой активности] (стр. 207—228). Автор на основе анализа внутренней структуры моносем, т.е. значения ряда лексических единиц английского и немецкого языков пытается выяснить лингвистическую сущность номинации и дескриптивизма. Интересны его рассуждения об особенностях лексической номинации при

явлениях афазии и семантической парафазии. Нам думается, что психолонгвистика в содружестве с философской теорией отражения помогли бы автору преодолеть некоторые его бихевиористские заблуждения, глубже раскрыть «механизм» лексической номинации и дескрипции и понять, почему даже генетически близкородственные и структурно-типологически идентичные языки и диалекты создают для одного и того же понятия, напр. понятия 'наборщик': нем. (*der*) *Setzer*, англ. *compositor*, русск. *наборщик*, укр. *складач*; 'читать': англ. *to read*, (ср. гр.-англ. *rēdan*, др.-сакс. *rādan*, др.-сканд. *rāða*, гот. *rēdan*: 'совещивать'), нем. *lesen* (ср. др.-англ. *lēsan* др.-верх.-нем. *lesan*, др.-сканд. *lesa*, др.-сакс. *lesan*: 'собира́ть'), 'лицо человека': венг. *arc* < *orczi* (= 'нос + рот'), эст. *suu-silmä* (= 'рот + глаза'), языковые слепки действительности с различной внутренней структурой моносем.

Лингвистическая литература последних лет наносит все новые и новые удары по трюкачеству сверхформализованного лингвистического дадаизма. Мы являемся свидетелями нового ренессанса семасиологии. Доказательством этому является и изыскание Ю. Унтерманна [Jürgen Untermann]: "Zu semantischen Problemen des Verbums" [К семантическим проблемам глагола] (стр. 229—248). После умелого анализа внутренней структуры моносем ряда глаголов в немецком языке, их классификации автор, применив на практике закон коммутации, стремился установить закономерности отношений между информой (= семантикой) и эксформой (= звуковой оболочкой) глаголов немецкого языка. Ю. Унтерманн умело сопоставляет в таблицах с таким же лингвистическими характеристиками в латинском, испанском, баскском, ирландском, древнегреческом, новогреческом, хетском языках. Этим и получены новые ценные данные к дедуцированию так нужных нам языковых универсалий.

Р. Ультан [Russel Ultan] в своей работе "On the development of a definite article" [О развитии определенного артикля] (стр.

249—265) пытается изучить особенности категории определенности в разноструктурных языках, выяснить процесс возникновения и развития определенного артикля в некоторых финно-угорских, германских, славянских, романских и др. языках.

В интересной работе П. О. Самуельсдорффа [Paul O. Samuelsdorff] "On describing determination by Montague Grammar" [О описании определенности в грамматике Монтэгью] (стр. 267—276) мы находим конкретное применение методологических принципов дедуцирования языковых универсалий, которые были изложены автором в его работе «Тезисы к проекту универсалий».⁷ Лингвистический материал, рассуждения и выводы П. О. Самуельсдорффа имеют определенное значение для общей структурной типологии, и, в особенности, для изучения языковых универсалий релятивизации.

Работа У. Кэльвер [Ulrike Kölver] "On Newari noun phrases" [Об оборотах с существительным в языке невари] (стр. 277—300) дает нам весьма ценные представления по ряду морфологических и синтаксических явлений этого слабоизученного тибето-бирманского языка, функционирующего в центральной части Непала.

В своей второй работе, озаглавленной "Determination: A functional dimension for interlanguage comparison" [Детерминация: Функциональная димензия для межъязыкового сравнения] (стр. 301—328). Г. Зайлер [Hansjakob Seiler] методологически образцово и логически продумано излагает теоретические аспекты и принципы кельнской научно-исследовательской группы по проблемам языковых универсалий. Весьма поучительна трактовка ряда сложных вопросов грамматики современного немецкого языка, тонкий структурно-типологический анализ вопросов соотношения «определя-

щего — определяемого», проблем лингвистической характеристологии прилагательного числительного, артикля, притяжательных и указательных местоимений. И как хорошо, что эмпирический материал немецкого языка, его исследование сопоставлены, хотя и фрагментарно, с языковыми явлениями английского, суахили, кикую, санго и др. языков. Этим самым автор сумел уточнить языковую универсалию Дж. Гринберга о порядке слов в предложении, его типах и подтипах.

Таков этот замечательный сборник. Он несомненно войдет в анналы структурной типологии, вообще, и историю поступательного развития науки о языковых универсалиях, в особенности, как важный этап суммирующий итоги серьезных успехов и намечающий перспективы дальнейшего развития одной из важнейших отраслей современной науки о языке — теории и практики дедуцирования языковых универсалий.

III. *Pom*

Janet Dean Fodor: *Semantics: Theories of Meaning in Generative Grammar*. The Language and Thought Series. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York 1977. xi + 225 pp.

This book, as the author points out in the preface, is a *text book*. It is not, in particular, a manifesto on behalf of one theory to the exclusion of the others. "I have tried," Fodor emphasizes, "to keep to a rough principle of equal, and equally critical, representation. For the proponents of the various theories to press their claims forcefully is natural, and it is also quite proper, since a clash between opposing theories very often leads to scientific progress. But if linguists as respected as Chomsky, Katz, and Lakoff can sincerely differ in their views, beginning students must surely be exposed to all sides of the debate and encouraged to make up their own minds. Then they will be in a better position to help us

⁷ См. Samuelsdorff, P. O.: *Thesen zum Universalienprojekt*. In: Seiler, H. (ed.): *Materials for the DFG International Conference on Language Universals, Arbeit des Kölner Universalien-Projekts*, Bd. 25. Köln 1976, стр. 73—79.

resolve our disagreements. There would be no point to an undigested summary of contradictory claims, but I have at least tried to restrict my evaluative comments to specific points and not to prejudge the major issues" (xi).

Fodor's book comprises six chapters and is supplemented by an extensive bibliography (215–222) and a short but well-constructed index (223–225). Its first chapter (Semantics and Generative Grammar, 1–8) provides a concise survey of the position of semantics within generative grammar, both from a historical and a theoretical point of view. Next, the author 'draws back' a few paces and asks the following question: Semantics is the study of meaning, but what is meaning? (Theories of Meaning, 9–61). The question appears to be a simple one but turns out to be one that is fairly difficult to answer. At least, it is so if we expect an answer like 'Meaning is this or that'. In a sense, we can say that a definition of 'meaning' is the goal, rather than a prerequisite, of research in semantics. If this is the case, the right answer to our question can be nothing else but a highly articulated system for describing, generalizing, and predicting a wide range of specific semantic observations (which, of course, can subsequently be condensed into a one-sentence formula, but the latter can never make the full theory superfluous: it will always be an abbreviation standing for that theory). However, we are far from that state of affairs as yet. Accordingly, Fodor can do nothing else but indicate what meaning is not, and why not. Thus, she first discusses the three simplest, and most easily falsifiable, types of definitions involving the concepts of 'reference', 'ideas', and 'behaviour', respectively ("The meaning of an expression is what it refers to; the idea it is associated with in speakers' and hearers' minds; the stimulus situation that evokes its utterance, and/or the response which it elicits from the hearer"); further, she evaluates various attempts at characterizing the meaning of an expression in terms

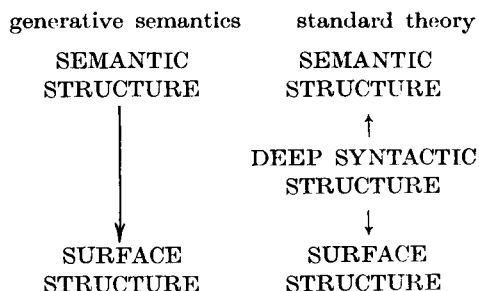
of its use, or truth value, or truth conditions; as well as the way meaning is connected with necessity, analyticity, modal or intensional logic, higher performative predicates, and the like. The final conclusion, as we have already indicated, is this: according to our present knowledge, meaning cannot be traced back to another concept that is simpler or easier to handle; meaning is just meaning and is to be described as such.

Getting back from philosophical questions to more down-to-earth problems of linguistics in a narrow sense, in the third chapter (Semantic Theories in Linguistics, 63–106) the author presents some of the various semantic models proposed within generative linguistics. In particular, she discusses Katz's standard theory of 'interpretive semantics', the semantic aspects of the 'extended standard theory' of Chomsky and Jackendoff, the theory of 'generative semantics' as proposed by Ross, Lakoff, Bach, McCawley, and others, as well as Fillmore's 'case grammar' and Gruber's 'prelexical representations'. This chapter is perhaps the most textbook-like of all; for beginners and laymen, this is the most useful portion of the book (though the question arises whether there is a type of readers having as thorough knowledge of syntactic matters as Fodor takes for granted but little if any familiarity with semantic problems). In the last part of the chapter (96–106), the author raises a pivotal issue of 'methodology'. In a slightly simplified manner, the problem at hand can be summarized as follows: How can you decide whether two linguistic theories really differ in empirical consequences, or whether they merely use different terminology to make the same claims about the subject matter, in which case they are said to be 'mere notational variants' of each other? For example, the difference between two systems of formal logic, one in which predicate terms are written before their associated arguments (*Pab*) and one in which predicates appear between their arguments (*aPb*), is a clear illustration of

notational variance. Since the formulae of the first system are uniquely and mechanically translatable into those of the second, and since 'psychological reality' is typically not claimed for such logical systems, there can be no question of which one of them is true and which is false. Were these two systems proposed as theories of linguistic competence, however, it is practically certain that they would embody incompatible assertions and that at least one of them would have to be false. In fact, McCawley has argued that in the underlying structures of English, the verb does not follow the subject as it does in surface structures, but is the first element in its clause (James D. McCawley: *English as a VSO language*. In: *Language* 46 [1970], 286—299). His arguments are typical linguistic ones. They turn on the observation that a number of transformational rules can be simplified if verbs are clause-initial in underlying structures. Whether arguments of this kind can be conclusive is a deep problem. It is not self-evident that every simplification that a linguist can make in the description of a language is actually taken advantage of by the native speaker. (Though, as Fodor ironically adds, if linguistic generalizations captured by grammars are not attributable to the psychology of language users, it is a puzzle why they exist.) "We may all agree," Fodor concludes her remarks on this problem, "that when two theories make exactly the same empirical predictions they are notational variants, and hence can be judged only with respect to elegance, comprehensibility, etc. But except in cases of gross disagreement about the meaning of a sentence or its grammaticality, we often do not know which theories make the same empirical predictions. This has particular bearing on the relation between syntax and semantics. Linguistic descriptions are anchored at some points by relatively direct empirical observations. The combinations of words that people utter are observable. The meanings of these utterances are also, in

their own fashion, open to inspection. But the derivations that mediate between the two must be inferred, and typically by a long chain of inference whose steps cannot be directly tested. It is therefore not surprising that the major disagreements in linguistics, and the ones that are hardest to settle, concern the middle stages of derivations — which is where syntax and semantics meet" (105—106).

In the fourth and fifth chapters (*The Mapping between Syntactic and Semantic Structures*, 107—142; *Semantic Representations*, 143—198), some of the semantic theories outlined in the third chapter are contrasted in terms of the types of derivation they postulate, and the semantic representations they assign to sentences. The most conspicuous divergence between generative semantics and the standard theory concerns the direction of derivation:



However, as Fodor points out, this may be a striking difference but is far from being the most important one. On the one hand, these diagrams are highly simplified in that they ignore global rules (of generative semantics) as well as the possibility of semantic rules interpreting derived syntactic structures (in certain versions of the standard theory), or indeed the claim made by 'trace theory' (a recent version of the extended standard theory) to the effect that the basis of semantic interpretation should be the surface structure where 'traces' represent deep-structure information. On the other hand, the difference in directionality cannot be separated from a host of other

differences between generative and interpretive semantics concerning the nature of semantic representations, the properties of the rules that relate them to syntactic structures, the existence or otherwise of a significant linguistic level intermediate between the semantic and surface structure levels, and a multitude of more specific issues.

For instance, let us see briefly what Fodor has to tell about the notorious issue concerning the different claims these theories make about the level of deep structure. A grammar with an interpretive semantic component must recognize such a level because the direction of its derivations reverses somewhere in the middle; a generative semantics grammar, on the other hand, need not (though it could) admit a significant intermediate level. Fodor discusses various aspects of the problem and presents a strong argument for the existence of a syntactic deep structure distinct from, and shallower than, the semantic level. However, she immediately offers a way around her own argument. In particular, she goes on to argue that by way of filters and other devices the need for syntactic deep structures can be cancelled and therefore the generative-semantics solution is just as good as the various interpretive-semantics ones.

Thus, none of the competing theories can be totally dismissed; all arguments can be matched by a counterargument (and Fodor, obligingly, presents the latter in every case in conjunction with the respective arguments). Even where she excludes something as totally wrong (e.g. Katz's cumulatively-derived 'semantically interpreted underlying phrase markers'), she points out that the theory in question is not thereby refuted; in fact, it works even better without the excluded solution than it did before its exclusion.

In the fifth chapter, the author first discusses the way meanings can be decomposed into minimal units ('semantic primitives') and/or be characterized in the form of redundancy rules ('meaning

postulates'), as well as various recent claims concerning the organization of the dictionary and possible representations of the structure of sentence meanings. Next, she gives a thorough comparison of Katz's theory and generative semantics and presents Jackendoff's theory of semantic interpretation. She raises significant objections to each statement of each author she refers to but refrains from suggesting if any of the theories at hand is superior to the others. She is fairly good at asking questions and making up counterarguments but she does not hasten to provide 'final' answers. This is quite all right — a well-raised question is better than a hundred mistaken answers.

What the fifth chapter is concluded with is just a well-raised (but essentially unanswered) question of this type: 'Are semantic representations necessary?' (193—198). In a Jackendoff grammar, unlike in more traditional versions of generative grammar, a sentence is assigned a set of semantic representations, each of which specifies part of the meaning of that sentence. On the other hand, every (analytic) entailment of a sentence constitutes a part of its meaning. Perhaps — this is Fodor's own idea — these two notions of part-meaning can be identified with each other. Then the semantic interpretation rules of the grammar could be regarded as inference rules generating entailments, rather than as derivational rules generating semantic representations. (The usual assumption, shared by theories which differ on other matters, is that there must be a level of semantic representation such that (i) each sentence of the language has a representation at this level, which is correlated, by the grammatical derivation, with syntactic and ultimately phonological and phonetic representations of the sentence; and (ii) inference rules apply to this semantic representation to determine the (possibly infinite) set of entailments of the sentence. Now, Fodor's idea is that perhaps we could do without the intermediate stage of semantic representations.

What she suggests instead is that a set of inference rules applying to one or more of the phrase markers — deep, surface, end-of-cycle, etc. — of the syntactic derivation of a sentence would directly characterize the meaning of that sentence by generating its entailments.) Fodor discusses in detail the way her idea would work in tackling the phenomenon of semantic anomaly. She eventually leaves the question of whether semantic representations are necessary or not unanswered, but she concludes that a semantic theory without semantic representation is not a contradiction in terms.

The closing chapter (Current Trends, 199—214) discusses some of the most recent developments in the field (referring by 'most recent' to the time of the writing of the book). Among other things, mention is made of Chomsky's 'trace theory'; Ross's 'squishy' approach and Lakoff's notion of 'fuzzy sets' of natural language data; the research into differences between semantic/logical and pragmatic presuppositions and constraints; the problem of whether (and how) 'Montague grammar' can be built into generative theories (and which ones); as well as the way word meanings can be captured in terms of typical vs. marginal items of 'natural classes'.

For readers interested in pursuing any of the topics raised in this volume in general and in the last chapter in particular, there is no substitute for tackling the current research literature. Fodor's comments, at best, "indicate some of the directions in which noses are pointing". (Incidentally, this includes most points of the compass.) Thus, trying to keep up with the literature is what Fodor recommends for her readers by way of a farewell — neither can the present reviewer suggest anything better. All of us should read on and on, then, but with at least as much of a critical disposition as Janet Dean Fodor displays in this excellent book.

P. Siptár

Историко-типологические исследования по финно-угорским языкам. Наука, Москва 1978, 328 стр.

Das Buch, dem Vorwort nach „der erste historisch-typologische Versuch in der Finnougristik“, enthält umfangreiche Studien von vier Mitarbeitern des Sprachwissenschaftlichen Institutes in Moskau.

Das Wichtigste der kurzen Überlegungen des Vorwortes (3—4) kann folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt werden. Die historisch-typologischen Arbeiten müssen zwei grundsätzlichen Forderungen gerecht werden: es muß der Begriff des Typs und das Wesen des historischen Wandels des Typs geklärt werden; gerade hier treten in der Forschung Mängel auf, da ja der Begriff des Typs und die Typologie allgemein, bzw. daraus folgernd die historische Typologie verschieden verstanden wird, bzw. im Falle der Sprachen, die über keine oder nur wenig Sprachdenkmäler verfügen (darunter die Mehrzahl der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen) die historisch-typologische Forschung sich in der Rekonstruktion (auf den synchronen Sprachzuständen basierend) bzw. in der Anwendung synchroner oder diachroner Methoden für typologische Zwecke erschöpft.

Im vorliegenden Band sind das Tscheremissische, das Mordwinische und das Wotjakische die untersuchten Sprachen, Grundbegriff der Untersuchungen ist der Mikrotyp, ein gegebenes Strukturelement der Sprache. Das Hauptziel der Verfasser ist, den betreffenden Mikrotyp — die Vergangenheitsform (im Tscheremissischen) die Lokalsuffixe (im Tscheremissischen und Mordwinischen), die zweisilbigen uralischen Wortstämme (im Wotjakischen) — im historisch-typologischen Wandel, d. h. im Übergang des betreffenden Mikrotypen in andere Mikrotypen zu verfolgen.

B. A. Serebrennikov: О путях превращения одного микротипа в другой микротип [на материале марийского языка] [Die Wege des Übergangs eines Mikrotypen in einen anderen Mikrotyp (anhand des Tscheremissischen)] (5—48). Der Aufsatz

zerfällt in mehrere voneinander deutlich abgegrenzte kleine Teile, die der Einfachheit halber Kapitel genannt werden können. In diesen Kapiteln versucht der Verfasser — das Wesen der tscheremissischen Vergangenheitsform(en) als Mikrotyp untersuchend — die Frage zu beantworten, welche Strukturverschiebungen im Rahmen der allgemeinen Vergangenheitsform das Erscheinen neuer Zeitformen bedingen, oder konkreter, wie aus dem altscheremissischen System mit nur einer Vergangenheitsform (er betrachtet die zweite sog. -š-Vergangenheitsform nicht für eine funktionelle Vergangenheitsform, da ihr Gebrauch ziemlich eingeschränkt war) ein System mit mehreren Vergangenheitsformen nach Muster des Tschuwassischen bzw. Tatarischen entstanden ist. Hier wird der Leser gleich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß 'nach Muster des Tschuwassischen bzw. Tatarischen' nicht mit „tschuwassisch-tatarischen Ursprung“ identisch ist, da die Ähnlichkeit der tschuwassischen, tatarischen und tscheremissischen Systeme nur eine äußerliche ist, „die Systeme mit mehreren Vergangenheitsformen sind selbständig in den Einzelsprachen entstanden, Kontakteinflüsse sind nur in einigen Randerscheinungen nachweisbar“ (6).

Kritische Anmerkungen erscheinen gewöhnlich am Ende einer Rezension, es muß in diesem Fall aber mit Kritik begonnen werden. Der Leser blickt dem Kapitel „Das System der Vergangenheitsform im Altscheremissischen“ mit großen Erwartungen und zugleich mit gemischten Gefühlen entgegen. Denn wir erfahren z. B. im zweiten Absatz des Aufsatzes, daß abgesehen von der -š-Vergangenheitsform (wegen der schon erwähnten Eigentümlichkeiten) im Altscheremissischen nur eine Vergangenheitsform existierte (5). Es ist jedoch fraglich, ob eine einzige Vergangenheitsform ein System bilden kann. Obwohl der Begriff System — mit oder ohne Grund — zu einem Modebegriff geworden ist, muß nicht unbedingt ein System bzw. eine Systematik auch dort gesucht werden, wo kein System da ist oder

gar nicht da sein kann. Wie ist nach diesen Voraussetzungen der erste Satz des fraglichen Kapitels zu verstehen: „Die Zahl der Vergangenheitsformen im Altscheremissischen — eine problematische Frage“? Außerdem finden wir auf S. 6 in den Tabellen „Altscheremissisch“ und „Neutscheremissisch“ im Gegensatz zum Altscheremissischen mit nur einer einzigen Vergangenheitsform vier „neue“ Vergangenheitsformen: первое прошедшее, прошедшее длительное эмфатическое, перфект, плюсквамперфект. Es ist sinnvoll, die Formen in ihren russischen Bezeichnungen zu zitieren, weil dadurch ihre Identifikation mit anderen russischen (und ungarischen) Grammatiken des Tscheremissischen mit ihren meist numerierten Zeitformen erleichtert. Als Beispiel seien erwähnt Языки народов СССР Band 3 (231—232, 247), das 'modernste' Handbuch der Finnougristik Основы финно-угорского языкознания Band 3 (§ 66, 64—70), Gábor Bereczki: Csere-misz (mari) nyelvkönyv. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest 1971, 39—40); in diesen Werken werden (eventuell mit abweichender Numerierung) sechs tscheremissische Vergangenheitsformen erwähnt. Es wäre also zumindest als Fußnote vonnöten gewesen, das Fehlen von den zwei Vergangenheitsformen zu erklären.

Dem ersten Kapitel fehlt ein Untertitel, der verdeutlichen würde, daß der Verfasser zuerst (6—15) die sog. erste und zweite Konjugation der sog. ersten Vergangenheitsform (= praeteritum, прошедшее очевидное nach Muster der syrjänischen Zeitformen nach Károly Rédei (Chrestomathia Syrjaenica. Budapest 1978, 79) Augenzeugen-Vergangenheitsform) behandelt. Die Vergangenheitsform der Verben der ersten Konjugation werden mit dem Suffix *i*, die Verben der zweiten Konjugation mit -s- > -(i)š gebildet. Das Vorhandensein von zwei verschiedenen Suffixen bedeutet nicht, daß es zwei verschiedene Vergangenheitsformen gäbe, da die Bedeutung der beiden Suffixe identisch ist.

Im zweiten Unterkapitel (15—26) untersucht der Verfasser den Zeitpunkt des

Beginns der Umwandlung im Tempus-system. Er nimmt an, daß dabei das Zustandekommen der Form прошедшее длительное (= imperfectum) eine große Rolle spielte (17). Und warum diese Zeitform entstanden ist? Der Verfasser macht auf die gleichsam universale Erscheinung aufmerksam, daß es Beziehungen zwischen dem Vorhandensein imperfektiver Vergangenheitsformen (континуозные времена) und dem Fehlen des grammatikalischen Aspekts (вид) gibt (vgl. Englisch). Es wurde ein Tempussystem benötigt, das das Hauptgeschehen von den Hintergrundereignissen trennt. Nach Meinung des Verfassers entstand das Imperfekt früher als das Perfekt und das Plusquamperfekt, da es aber — und nun ein Widerspruch — verhältnismäßig selten verwendet wurde, kann nicht behauptet werden, daß es größere Veränderungen im tscheremissischen Tempussystem nach sich zog (26 gegenüber 17).

Das „Perfekt oder Vergangenheit II“ (26—37) wird von Károly Rédei aufs Syrjänische bezogen Nicht-Augenzeugen-Vergangenheit genannt. Im Altscheremissischen war es eine zusammengesetzte Zeitform, bestehend aus einem Partizip (mit dem Suffix -n, heute ist es im Tscheremissischen ein Verbaladverb!) und dem Seinsverb im Präsens, woraus sog. аллергоформы also Schnellsprechformen entstanden: *tolân ulam* > *tolânam* 'ich bin gekommen', *tolân ulat* > *tolânat* 'du bist gekommen', *tolân uleš* > *tolân* 'er ist gekommen'. Diese Kontraktionen wurden durch den Umstand erleichtert, daß die Seinform der 3. Pers. als Kopula in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen allgemein nicht gebraucht wird; so wurden anscheinlich auch die Seinsverbformen in den übrigen Personen überflüssig, die Personalsuffixe wurden jedoch — um auf die betreffende Person hinzuweisen — benötigt. Der Verfasser behandelt ausführlich die verschiedenen modalen Aspekte des Perfekts (31—37).

Bei der Behandlung des Plusquamperfekts (bei Serebrennikov: преждепрошедшее, bei anderen Autoren: предпрошед-

шее I (очевидное) und II (неочевидное), deutsch: Augenzeugen-Vorvergangenheit und Nicht-Augenzeugen-Vorvergangenheit) wird auf die Tatsache verwiesen, warum das Plusquamperfekt (z. B.: *ludânam šle* 'bis dahin habe ich gelesen') selten gebraucht wird: im Tscheremissischen sind (mehrfach) zusammengesetzte Sätze selten, die Unterordnung von Nebensätzen ist schwach entwickelt.

Im Kapitel „Die Rolle des Perfekts bei der Umstrukturierung des tscheremissischen Vergangenheitsystems“ (40—43) behandelt Serebrennikov die Implikationen zwischen Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt, d. h. das Vorhandensein der einen Form bedingt das Vorhandensein der entsprechenden anderen, das Perfekt ist Ursache für die Herausbildung des Plusquamperfekts und für die Herausbildung der Augenzeugen-Vergangenheit bzw. Nicht-Augenzeugen-Vergangenheit (der russische Fachausdruck: особое наклонение абсента) und für die Entstehung des sog. latenten Imperfekts (латентный имперфект). Das alles zeugt von einer rapiden Entwicklung der Linguotechnik. Im Urtscheremissischen (hier, S. 41 прамайрийский язык, a. a. o. древнемарийский) war die einzige Vergangenheit semantisch überlastet, so bekam die Bedeutung im Laufe der Zeit in der Mehrzahl der Fälle eine eigene Form, es entstand eine neue Zeitform. Mit der Zeit wurde für diese neuen Zeitformen die Polysemie bezeichnend, diese Vielfältigkeit hatte manchmal zur Folge, daß im Bereich gemeinsamer Bedeutungsgrenzen die eine Zeitform anstelle der anderen gebräuchlich wurde, z. B.: Perfekt mit imperfektiver Bedeutung anstelle des emphatischen Imperfekts (hierfür zitiert der Verfasser zahlreiche Beispiele aus der Literatursprache).

Vom Gesichtspunkt der historischen Typologie ist das letzte Kapitel der Studie das interessanteste, es behandelt ja die Frage, inwieweit türkischer Einfluß für die Typenveränderungen des tscheremissischen Vergangenheitsystems verantwort-

lich ist (43—47). Die engen tschuwassischen-tscheremissischen Kontakte sind allgemein bekannt. Im Tschuwassischen z. B. hat das emphatische Imperfekt genau die gleichen Bedeutungen wie im Tscheremissischen, es wird genau so selten gebraucht, es liegt daher der Schluß nahe, daß die tscheremissische Zeitform unter tschuwassischem Einfluß entstanden ist, also tschuwassischen Ursprungs ist. (Im Tatarischen liegt praktisch der gleiche Sachverhalt vor wie im Tschuwassischen, nur hat das Perfekt im Indikativ keine imperfektive Bedeutungsvariante.) Diesen und anderen Ähnlichkeiten zutrotz ist der Verfasser abschließend der Meinung, daß als Hauptargument gegen die tschuwassische Herkunft (vgl. 16) die Tatsache gewertet werden kann, daß im Tscheremissischen nicht das Hilfsverb sondern das Hauptverb konjugiert wird, im Tschuwassischen und Tatarischen dagegen das Hilfsverb (Beispiele S. 16). Hier fehlt eine abschließende Bemerkung wie etwa: Der Übergang des urtscheremissischen Vergangenheitsystems mit einer einzigen Vergangenheit als finnisch-ugrischer Mikrotyp zum tscheremissischen Mikrotyp mit mehreren (auch zusammengesetzten) Vergangenheitsformen tschuwassischen Charakters ist Ergebnis einer quasi universalen Entwicklung (16, 18). Gleich wie im Tscheremissischen ist die Sachlage in den permischen Sprachen.

Das ist also B. A. Serebrennikovs Meinung über diese, auch uns näher interessierende Frage. Seine Argumentation ist nicht überzeugend genug, es scheint, als wenn Verfasser keine Lust oder Energie gehabt hätte, seine Gedanken zu Ende zu verfolgen. Als Beispiel könnte jener Teil der Ausführungen dienen, in welchen der Verfasser die Herkunft des tscheremissischen Tempussystems mit mehreren Vergangenheitsformen behandelt. Das eigentlich Wichtigste wird schon am Anfang gesagt, es erscheint dort aber nicht am Platze und nicht genügend fundiert, dort wohin es eigentlich logischerweise hingehört, finden wir anderes. — Der Verfasser erwähnt die englischen Vergangenheits-

formen, womit zusammenhängend man eine „richtige“ Typologie erwartet, sie bleibt jedoch aus. Serebrennikov erwähnt auch das Ungarische als Sprache mit nur einer einzigen Vergangenheitsform, er weist aber überhaupt nicht darauf hin, daß das Ungarische in dieser Hinsicht eine interessante Entwicklung durchmachte, da ja vor dem jetzigen System mit nur einer Vergangenheit im Ungarischen ebenfalls ein gewisser „Mikrotyp“ mit mehreren Vergangenheitsformen existierte — über den vor kurzem in der Ungarischen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Gábor Beczki in einem Vortrag feststellte, daß bei der Herausbildung dieses Systems die türkischen Sprachen die Hauptverantwortlichen waren.

Der zweite Aufsatz dieses Bandes stammt von Je. I. Koved'jajeva: Типологическая эволюция системы локальных падежей в истории марийского языка [Die typologische Entwicklung des Systems der Lokalkasus in der tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte] (49—154). Nach einem kurzen geschichtlichen Überblick und der Aufzählung der Datenquellen setzt die Autorin mit der Charakterisierung des tscheremissischen Kasussystems fort. Es ist allgemein bekannt — schreibt sie —, daß es im Urtscheremissischen, wie in der finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache innere und äußere Lokalkasus gab, nach genaueren Untersuchungen kann aber festgestellt werden, daß dies uneingeschränkt nur für den Lativ gilt. Was die lokativischen Kasus betrifft, gibt es im heutigen Tscheremissischen fast keine Spuren einer Opposition von innerem-äußerem Lokalkasus. Die zeitgenössischen wissenschaftlichen („akademischen“) Grammatiken und die Schullehrbücher kennen — sowohl was das Wiesen-(Ost-)Tscheremissische und das Berg-Tscheremissische betrifft — 7 Kasus, davon 3 Lokalkasus, außerdem gibt es noch lokativische Postpositionen und Adverbien in (unter anderem) postpositionaler Rolle. Es ist zweckmäßig, die Tabelle Nr. 1 auf S. 52 hier vollständig zu reproduzieren:

Urtscheremissisch

1. Loc. **-na/*-nä*
2. Loc. **-ta/*-tä*
3. Lat. **-k*
4. Lat. **-s > -š*
5. Lat. **-ri*
6. Lat. **-la*
7. Abl. **-t > é*

heutiges Tscheremissisch

местный	-šte
Inessiv	
направительный	-ške
Illativ	
обстоятельный	-eš
Lativ	
дательный	-lan
Allativ	
отложительный	-leč
Ablativ	
распределительный	-len
Distributiv	
причинный	-lanan/-länen
Kausativ	

Das erste größere Kapitel der Studie (52—61) trägt den Titel „Das System der lokativischen Kasus im Urtscheremissischen und im heutigen Tscheremissischen.“ Das erste Unterkapitel handelt seinem Titel nach über die urtscheremissischen lokalen (lokativischen) Kasus, tatsächlich gibt es jedoch einen Überblick über das postulierte Kasussystem des Urtscheremissischen (Serebrennikov, Galkin). Die Mehrheit der Forscher nimmt an, daß das Urtscheremissische mehr Kasus kannte als das heutige Tscheremissische, die heute nicht als selbständige Kasussuffixe fungierenden Partikel sind einerseits in den zahlreichen Postpositionen, in den Adverbien, in den finiten Verbalformen (im Infinitiv und in den Verbaladverbien), andererseits in den zusammengesetzten Kasus (vor allem in den Dialekten) nachweisbar. Sehr von Nutzen und äußerst anschaulich ist die Tabelle Nr. 2, die die sog. serialen Postpositionen (серийные

последологи), d. h. die dreiförmigen Postpositionsserien, die mit dem gleichen Stamm mit verschiedenen Endungen lokative, elative und allative Bedeutung tragen, behandelt. Diese fünfseitige Liste besteht aus folgenden Rubriken: (oft rekonstruierter) Stamm der Postposition bzw. des Adverbs, im ganzen 27 Stämme, sowie die in der Tabelle Nr. 1 mit den Nummern 3—7 versehenen Kasussuffixe, also 1 Lokativ, 4 Lativ-Kasus und 1 Ablativ.

Wie die Tabelle Nr. 3 zeigt (60), tauchen die lokalen Kasus in den folgenden Kasussuffixen des modernen Tscheremissischen auf: im Gen., Dat. und Akk. (und natürlich in den lokalen Kasus).

Im zweiten Kapitel behandelt die Autorin die Spuren der finnisch-ugrischen Lokalkasus (Urtscheremissisch Loc. *-na* 62—70, *-t* 70—73; Lat. *-ri* 73—79, *-k* 79—85, *-s* 85—96, *ʔ-i* (*-j*) 96—101; Abl. *-ta* 101—113), weiters werden die zusammengesetzten Postpositionen und die postpositionalen Adverbien untersucht (113—121).

Das folgende Kapitel behandelt die zusammengesetzten Lokalkasussuffixe des modernen Tscheremissischen (121—151). Als Ausgangspunkt ist die traditionelle Einteilung in die zwei Gruppen mit dem Element *-s*- oder mit *-l*-. Für die Zusammensetzungen primärer Kasus gibt es folgende theoretische Kombinationen: Lat. + Lok., Lat. + Lat., Lat. + Abl. Es gibt keine Kombinationen der Form Lok. + Lok., Lok. + Lat., Abl. + Abl. Aus der Tatsache, daß es keine Kombination Lok. + Lok., jedoch Formen Lat. + Lat. gibt, kann geschlossen werden, daß wegen dem Fehlen der Opposition von innerem-äußerem Kasus im Bereich des Loc. die Kombinationen Lok. + Lok. unsinnig gewesen wäre, Kombinationen der Form Lat. + Lat. jedoch wegen der Bedeutungsunterschiede dieser Kasussuffixe (irgendwohin/bis irgendwohin, innen/außen) vorhanden waren. Auf S. 123 finden wir die zusammengesetzten *-s*- bzw. *-l*- Elemente enthaltenden Kasus, welche im Fall der *-s*-Kasus im Tscheremissischen, Mordwinischen und Finnischen, im Fall der

-l-Kasus im Tscheremissischen in den permischen Sprachen und im Finnischen nachweisbar sind. Desweiteren untersucht Verf. genau — wie bis jetzt durchwegs — an zahlreichen Beispielen die Bedeutungen der Kasus mit dem Element *-s-* (127—135) und der Kasus mit dem Element *-l-* (135—151). Danach werden ohne jeglichen Übergang die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Studie in einigen Punkten zusammengefaßt. Zweifellos ist im Verlauf der tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte — das System der Lokalkasus als Mikrotyp betrachtend — ein Mikrotyp in einen anderen Mikrotyp übergegangen. Das urtscheremissische System hatte 2 Lokativkasus, 4 Lativ- und einen Ablativkasus mit einfachen (primären) Suffixen. Davon zeugen nicht nur die heutigen postpositionalen Kasusendungen, sondern auch die Postpositionen, vor allem die sog. serialen Postpositionen und auch die Adverbien. Den Grund für diesen Mikrotypwandel sucht die Autorin im Verwaschen der Bedeutungsgrenzen der verschiedenen Lativsuffixe. Beweis dafür sind die aus demselben Stamm gebildeten, in den verschiedenen Dialekten mit jeweils verschiedenen Lativsuffixen versehenen Adverbien mit gleicher Bedeutung. Die zusammengesetzten Suffixe mit dem Element *-s-* sind innere Lokalkasus, jene mit dem Element *-l-* äußere Lokalsuffixe. Sicherlich verhalf das Fehlen des finnisch-ugrischen *-n-*Lativs zur Herausbildung des Postpositionensystems und zur auch heute verfolgbaren Weiterentwicklung.

Der dritte Aufsatz im Band, G. I. Jermuškins Типологическая эволюция системы местных падежей в истории мордовских языков [Die typologische Entwicklung des Lokalkasussystems in den mordwinischen Sprachen] (155—265) zeigt — wie schon aus dem Titel ersichtlich — viel Ähnlichkeit mit der vorhin besprochenen Studie über das Tscheremissische. Einige Seiten behandeln im Vorwort theoretische Fragen: Die Grundbegriffe sind hier Sprachtyp (Makrotyp) und Sprechtyp (Mikrotyp). Der Mikrotyp ist eine sprachspezifische, struk-

turbedingte Eigenschaft. Der Makrotyp besteht aus Mikrotypen, aber als übergeordneter Begriff umfaßt er nicht alle charakteristischen Eigenheiten der Sprache sondern nur bestimmte, typenbezeichnende Merkmale. Erst hier finden wir jene grundlegenden theoretischen Überlegungen, die der Leser im Vorwort bzw. im nicht vorhandenen Nachwort vermißt. Die Zielsetzung dieser Studie ist identisch mit der des Artikels über das Tscheremissische. Aus dem Vorwort des Bandes — eigentlich aus einer kurzen Bemerkung — geht hervor, daß im Tscheremissischen im Vergleich zum Urtscheremissischen ein Typenwandel vor sich ging, im Mordwinischen jedoch nicht.

Nach einer systematischen Aufzählung der Adverbien (156—158), der Postpositionen (158—160) und der zusammengesetzten Kasus (160—161) beschreibt der Autor das urmordwinische Kasussystem. Nach B. A. Serebrennikov war der Sprachzustand vor der Trennung der Erza und Mokša durch folgende Lokalkasus gekennzeichnet: auf die Frage wohin? *-sa* (< Lat. **-s* + Lat. **-a*), **-ñ*, **-ka*, **-s*, **-ŋ*; auf die Frage wo? **-na/*-nä*, **-t* > *-t* und auf die Frage woher? **-ta/*-tä*. Nach der historischen Untersuchung dieser Suffixe faßt der Autor seine Ergebnisse über das System der lokalen Kasussuffixe der mordwinischen Grundsprache als Mikrotyp betrachtet zusammen:

innere Lokalsuffixe	
Inessiv	<i>-sno</i> , <i>-sne</i> ; <i>-so</i> // <i>-sna</i> ; <i>-sa</i>
Elativ	<i>-sto</i> , <i>-ste</i> // <i>-sta</i>
Illativ	<i>-s</i>
äußere Lokalsuffixe	
Lativ	<i>-ñ</i> ; <i>-ŋ</i> (<i>-v</i> , <i>-j</i>) // <i>-ñ</i> ; <i>-ŋ</i> (<i>-v</i> , <i>-n</i> , <i>-i</i>)
Prolativ	<i>-ka</i> , <i>-ga</i> , <i>-va</i> // <i>-ka</i> , <i>-ga</i> , <i>-va</i>
Ablativ	<i>-to</i> , <i>-te</i> , <i>-do</i> , <i>-de</i> // <i>-ta</i> , <i>-da</i>

(vor dem Zeichen // stehen die erzanischen, danach die mokšanischen Varianten)

Es ist nicht ganz klar, für welchen Sprachzustand dieses Kasussystem gilt, denn wenn es urmordwinisch wäre, wie im Absatz vor der Tabelle (183) behauptet wird, wie sind dann die erzanischen bzw. die mokšanischen Varianten aufzufassen? Noch problematischer wird die Sache dadurch, daß später eine andere Tabelle mit urmordwinischen Lokalkasussuffixen auftaucht, rekonstruiert von B. A. Serebrennikov (der Einfachheit halber geben wir die Bedeutung der Kasus in Deutsch und ihre Bezeichnungen in ihrer russischen Form an):

äußere Kasus			
местный	-na/-ne		auf etw. befindlich
направительный	-η (-v, -j)		auf etw. zu
отложительный	-da, -ta,	-de -te	von etw. weg, herab
innere Kasus			
местный	-sna	(-sne)	in etw. befindlich
вносительный	-s		in etw. hinein
исходный	-sto, (-sta)	-ste	aus etw. heraus

Das wäre also der Mikrotyp, aus welchem der neue Mikrotyp entstand, nämlich das Kasussystem der mordwinischen Sprachen, von deren 12 Kasus (vgl. die Aufzählung S. 185) 5 Lokalkasus sind. Von diesen 5 erwähnt der Autor bei der Gruppierung der Kasus (subjektive-objektive, lokativische und adjektivische Gruppe) nur 4, den Ablativ zählt er nicht in die lokativische sondern in die subjektiv-objektive Gruppe, da er eine Übergangstellung zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen einnimmt. Der Autor erwähnt außerdem, daß in der herkömmlichen Literatur sämtliche Lokalkasus als innere Kasus gelten, äußere Lokalkasus werden in der Fachliteratur überhaupt nicht erwähnt, obwohl keiner der Kasus ausschließlich als innerer Kasus betrachtet werden kann. Es wird der Ver-

such unternommen, die Kasus neu zu gruppieren, indem die Kasus mit dem Element -s- zu den inneren Kasus, der Lativ, Prolativ, Ablativ und Dativ (-*neh/-ndi*) zu den äußeren gezählt werden. Die beiden letzteren haben unter ihren verschiedenen Bedeutungen auch lokalbestimmende.

Das folgende Kapitel (187—261) befaßt sich mit den Bedeutungen der heutigen mordwinischen Lokalkasus, ihre Polysemie wird an zahlreichen Beispielen illustriert.

Zusammenfassend wird festgestellt: Die Ursache für den Mikrotypwandel ist in der 'Neutralisierung' der Bedeutungen in den inneren Lokalkasus zu suchen; die inneren Lokalkasus mit dem Element -s- wurden auch für neue Bedeutungen, in äußeren Lokalbestimmungen und sogar in Zeit- und Umstandsbestimmungen verwendet. Dies wiederum wurde durch den Umstand erleichtert, daß die alten äußeren Lokalkasus schwach entwickelt waren, für sie war die Dreiförmigkeit nicht charakteristisch, sie hatten im Gegensatz zum Finnischen (-l) kein spezielles Zeichen. Die Herausbildung der Postpositionen geht teilweise auf den gleichen Umstand zurück: das suffigierte Nomen übernahm als Ganzes die Rolle des Suffixes und wurde zuerst zu einem Adverb und später zu einer Postposition. Es entstanden die Serien (innere-äußere Bedeutungen) der Postpositionen.

Das moderne mordwinische Kasussystem ist also dadurch gekennzeichnet, daß die inneren Kasus mit dem Element -s- eine Reihe bilden und dreiförmig (in Bezug auf die Richtung) sind, die Funktionen der äußeren Lokalkasus übernehmen neben den eigentlichen äußeren Lokalkasus (Lat., Abl., Prolat.) auch innere Kasus und im Fall des Dativs sogar ein nichtlokativischer Kasus.

Verf. hält es für möglich (es fehlt hier aber die Begründung), daß bei der Entwicklung der Postpositionen mit innerer Lokalbestimmung auch das Russische eine Rolle spielte. Auf die Herausbildung des jetzigen Mikrotyps wirkte auch die sog. sekundäre Flexion. Das bedeutet, daß z. B. in den Formen der inneren Lokalkasus bei

der bestimmten Deklination, in der Deklination auf Basis der Genitivformen Homonyme auftauchten und daß deswegen die -s-Formen in der bestimmten Deklination eher in Postpositionen gebräuchlich wurden. Ähnliche Erscheinungen sind auch im Tscheremissischen und in den permischen Sprachen beobachtbar.

Der letzte Aufsatz im Band verfaßte T. I. Tepljašina. Das Thema dieser Arbeit ist von den bis jetzt besprochenen Arbeiten grundverschieden: Типологическая эволюция структуры прафинно-угорского корня в пермских языках [Die typologische Entwicklung der finnisch-ugrischen Stämme in den permischen Sprachen] (266—325). Nach Meinung der Verfasserin haben die folgenden phonologischen Wandel die Wortstruktur in den permischen Sprachen am stärksten betroffen: 1) Apokope des stammauslautenden Vokals, 2) Apokope des stammauslautenden Konsonanten, 3) Stimmhaftwerden der ursprünglich stimmlosen Segmente, 4) Vokalveränderungen im Wortinneren.

Im Abschnitt über die Apokope der stammauslautenden Vokale (266—270, die Ausnahmen im Wotjakischen 270—274) wird die theoretische Feststellung, daß aus den finnisch-ugrischen zweisilbigen Stämmen mit der Struktur VCV, VCCV, CVCV, CVCCV durch Apokope des stammauslautenden Vokals Stämme mit der Struktur CVC oder VC (und nicht CV! vgl. S. 270) entstanden sind mit vielen Beispielen illustriert. Leider geht aus der Liste mit den 101 Angaben mit den rekonstruierten finnisch-ugrischen Grundformen und den heutigen syrjänischen bzw. wotjakischen Entsprechungen nicht hervor, woher Verf. die Daten nimmt und es bleibt auch unklar, inwieweit und in welcher Beziehung die Liste vollständig ist (vgl. 269—270: „... Die Anzahl der Wörter könnte mit finnisch-ugrischen Verbalstämmen des Typs *mene* auf 200 erhöht werden“), warum müssen dann 101 Beispiele für eine allgemein bekannte Erscheinung gebracht werden. Eigentlich sind es nur 100, denn wenn hier nur von der Apokope die Rede ist, dann

gehört das Beispiel **jäne*- syr. *ji*, wotj. *je* 'Eis' nicht hierher.

Der Abschnitt „Die Fälle mit Beibehaltung der ursprünglichen stammauslautenden Vokale“ (270—274) beginnt mit der Feststellung, daß es in den permischen Sprachen eine ganze Reihe von zweistämmigen vokalisches auslautenden Stämmen gibt, die mit den finnisch-ugrischen Formen verglichen neu sind, es kommen aber auch solche Wörter vor, die dem finnisch-ugrischen Erbwortschatz angehören und die mehr oder weniger verschleiert die alten stammauslautenden Vokale konservierten. Diese stammauslautenden Vokale können 1) Suffixe sein, und zwar a) Diminutivsuffixe, b) nomen possessoris-suffixe, z. B.: *šur* 'Horn', *šuro* 'Hirsch, gehört', c) Vokativsuffix -*ö*, z. B.: *pölö* 'Großvater'. Hier operiert Verf. mit Wörtern der Kindersprache, da die Vokativformen von 'Milch', 'Brot' und 'Hand' nur in der Kindersprache vorkommen; die Vokativformen des Typs Großvater usw. sind hingegen im Bereich der Verwandtschaftsterminologie gebräuchlich, wovon zahlreiche Artikel der Verfasserin selbst berichten; 2) der beibehaltene Vokal ist Teil des Suffixes -*sa*, das Wörter mit der Bedeutung 'in etwas befindlich' bildet, z. B. syr. *va* 'Wasser', *vasa* 'im Wasser befindlich' > 'Wassergeist', syr. *ver* 'Wald', *versa* 'im Wald befindlich' > 'Waldgeist', 3) der Vokal kann Teil eines Gliedes in zusammengesetzten Nomina sein, z. B.: *kerku* 'Blockhaus': *ker* 'Holzblock' -*ka* 'primitive Hütte' < fu **kota*. Diese drei Punkte müssen erwähnt werden, denn wir haben es hier mit unglücklichen Formulierungen und was den 3. Punkt betrifft einfach mit einem schlechten Beispiel zu tun. Beim Typ syr. *kerka*, syr. *izki* 'Mühlstein': *ki* 'Stein' wurde der stammauslautende Vokal ja nicht darum beibehalten, weil diese Wörter zusammengesetzte Nomina sind! (Hier widerspricht sich die Autorin selbst, indem sie syr. *šin-va* 'Träne' hierherzählt, obwohl die beiden Elemente des zusammengesetzten Nomens auch als selbständige Worte in Gebrauch sind.) In

diesen Wörtern sind die zweiten Glieder der Wortverbindungen Beispiele für die zweifache Apokope bei den zweisilbigen finnisch-ugrischen Stämmen: sie sind Endpunkt der Entwicklung CVCV > CVC > CV, für welche auch aus dem Ungarischen Beispiele zitiert werden können, vgl. ung. *kő*, *kőve* 'Stein'; finn. *vesi*, ung. *víz*, *vize*, permisch *va*, *vu* 'Wasser'.

Es folgt eine Liste mit den wotjakischen Wörtern der Struktur CVCV mit verschleierter deminutiver Bedeutung des Auslautvokals (30 wotjakische Wörter, die syrjänischen Wörter in der Struktur CVC). Beim Wort syr. *kel* 'Schwieger-tochter' oder genauer 'die zugeheirateten Frauen (gegenseitig) von Brüdern' bedeutet der infolge eines Druckfehlers gesetzte Bindestrich keinen Stammtyp. Das Wort lautet in der Literatursprache *kev*, d. h. es müßte neben dem Wort der Vermerk (двал.) 'mundartlich' stehen. Unglückliche Formulierungen kommen häufig vor z. B. „Die zweisilbigen Stämme bleiben in den Fällen erhalten, wo dem auslautenden Vokal ein Konsonant folgte“. (?)

Im weiteren wird der Zeitpunkt der Apokope der stammauslautenden Vokale untersucht. Wie die iranischen, bulgarisch-türkischen, ostslavischen und samojedischen Lehnwörter und die aus dem Syrjänischen in die obugrischen Sprachen bzw. in russische Dialekte übernommenen Lehnwörter beweisen, wurde die Apokope der Vokale bis zum 10. Jahrhundert abgeschlossen. Danach folgt anschließend sofort die Schlußfolgerung (?), nach der in den modernen permischen Sprachen (aufgrund von je 1500 Daten der Literatursprache) folgende Morphemstrukturen bezeichnend wären:

	CV (V)	CVC (VC)	CVCV CVCVC (CVCVCV) (CVCVCVC)	
Wotj.	1,3	49,0	25,2	9,5
Komi-				
Syrj.	15,0	59,0	11,0	15,0
Komi-				
Permjakisch	11,0	53,0	14,0	22,0

Es ist unklar, wie aus dieser Statistik die Feststellung geschlossen wird, daß „Die permischen Sprachen und das Ungarische bei der Frage der finnisch—ugrischen einsilbigen Wörtern die erste Stelle einnehmen vor dem Tscheremissischen und den zwei obugrischen Sprachen; in den mordwinischen Sprachen sowie im Estnischen und Wepsischen ging die Apokope der stammauslautenden Vokale nur teilweise vor sich. Die Apokope der stammauslautenden Vokale muß nicht in uralte Zeiten, in die finnisch-ugrische Grundsprache zurückverlegt werden. Im Ungarischen, Estnischen, Wepsischen, Ostjakischen und Wogulischen ist es eine Sonderentwicklung, bzw. ist für bestimmte sekundäre Grundsprachen (die permische Grundsprache, das Urtscheremissische) gewisser Sprachgruppen charakteristisch.“ (274) . . .

Das folgende Kapitel lautet „Die Apokope der Wortauslautenden (stammauslautenden) Konsonanten“ (275—281). Es folgt dem Muster des vorgehenden Kapitels und enthält ebenso eine Anzahl von ärgerlichen Formulierungsfehler, die Anschauungsweise kann kaum gebilligt werden. Das dritte Kapitel behandelt das Stimmhaftwerden (281—300), das vierte Kapitel die Wandel im inlautenden Vokalismus (300—313), im fünften Kapitel ist über die Wandel im sechsten Kapitel über die Vokalgeschichte der einzelnen permischen Sprachen die Rede (316—322). Augenscheinlich entfernt sich Verf. immer mehr vom Thema der Untersuchung, da — was die Morphemstruktur betrifft — weniger wichtige und sogar ganz unwichtige Lautveränderungen behandelt werden. Wie gibt z. B. das in Prozent ausgedrückte Verhältnis der labialen/illabialen Vokale in den permischen Sprachen und im Finnischen darüber Auskunft, wie die typologische Entwicklung der finnisch-ugrischen Wortstämme in den permischen Sprachen vor sich ging?

Daraufhin faßt Verf. die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung wie folgt zusammen (322—325): Die vokalisches auslautenden zweisilbigen finnisch-ugrischen Wortstämme

(= Mikrotyp) waren in den permischen Sprachen von großen Veränderungen betroffen, da „in ihrem phonetischen System“ große Wandel vor sich gingen, und zwar 1) Apokope der stammauslautenden Vokale, 2) Apokope der den weggefallenen auslautenden Vokale vorausgehenden Konsonanten, 3) Stimmhaftwerden der stimmlosen Konsonanten, Entstehung der Opposition stimmhaft/stimmlos, 4) Wandel im Wortinneren (inlautend?) fi.-ugr. *a, *u > urpermisch *ô, *û > e, i, 5) Labialisierung finnisch-ugrischer illabialer Vokale der ersten Silbe in größerer Zahl: fi.-ugr. *â > urpermisch *ô, fi.-ugr. e > urpermisch *o usw. Daraus resultierten Änderungen im Vokalsystem; 6) Delabialisierung der urpermischen Vokale *ô, *û und weitere Lautwandel in den einzelnen permischen Sprachen, z. B. urpermisch *ô > syr. e in nichtster Silbe.

Demnach sieht die Autorin den Grund für den Mikrotypwechsel in den folgenden Erscheinungen: 1) Charakteristisch für die permischen Sprachen war „die Tendenz zur Tilgung überflüssigen Konsonantengebrauchs“ (?), „Minimalisierung der distinktiven phonematischen Korrelationen“, 2) die „natürliche Dehnung“ der zu einsilbigen Wörtern geschrumpften Formen und daraus resultierend die Labialisierung der Vokale, 3) das Stimmhaftwerden führte zur Entstehung der Stimmhaftigkeitskorrelation, 4) die behandelten Wandel „in den phonetischen Mikrostrukturen“ ermöglichten die Kommunikation zwischen Wotjaken und Komi-Syrjänen bzw. Komi-Permjaken.

Kein Zweifel, von diesem Aufsatz können nur wenig Aussagen ernst genommen werden! Es wurden einige Beispiele für unglückliche Formulierungen und für nicht treffendes Beispielmaterial gebracht — diese sind aber keine außergewöhnlichen Erscheinungen. Was die Zielsetzung und die Realisierung der Untersuchung betrifft, ist dieses Werk ein Blindgänger. Wenn jemand diese Studie naiv, ohne Kenntnis der Problematik liest, glaubt er eine moderne Abhandlung über ein — zweifellos span-

nendes, interessantes — Thema in der Hand halten, obwohl die Sachlage eine ganz andere ist: Was von dieser Untersuchung annehmbar ist, ist keineswegs neu, was unangebracht ist, hätte es doch nur nicht den Anschein des Neuen! Mit den hier behandelten Fragen haben sich schon viele Forscher wiederholt beschäftigt und es hätte nicht nur in Fußnoten — zum Schein — sondern auch inhaltlich auf diese Arbeiten verwiesen werden müssen, dann wäre vielleicht das Chaos in dieser Studie nicht so arg. Schon durch die Tatsache, daß das Thema gut ausgeforscht ist, verspricht die Arbeit nicht viel Neues, die zahlreichen bis jetzt verfaßten Arbeiten über dieses Gebiet sind jedoch kein Hindernis, mit neuen Methoden und unter neuen Gesichtspunkten — unter Umständen mit negativen Ergebnissen — die bisherigen Feststellungen erneut zu bestätigen oder zu widerlegen. Die Themenwahl kann als solche nicht bemängelt werden, die Fehler liegen in der Ausführung.

Zum Glück setzt sich diese Studie von den anderen ab. Das heißt natürlich nicht, daß die anderen Aufsätze im Band fehlerfrei wären. Abgesehen von den erwähnten kleineren Mängel sind die Beiträge B. A. Serebrennikovs, Je. I. Koved'jajevs und G. I. Jermuskins bedeutende Studien, die — wenn sie auch in mancher Hinsicht nichts Neues bringen — doch die behandelte Problematik genau darstellen.

Bei der Lektüre des Buches mit seinem schönen vielversprechenden Titel kann nicht eindeutig positiv auf die Frage geantwortet werden, ob die Finnougriktik durch die Einführung des „Mikrotyps“ einen Schritt vorwärts gemacht hat. Das hat seinen Grund vielleicht auch darin, daß auch die Autoren selbst unsicher, unentschlossen sind, es fehlen die klaren Zusammenfassungen und die Charakterisierung der für die verschiedenen Sprachzustände bezeichnend gehaltenen Mikrotypen. Vor allem fehlt ein zusammenfassendes, auch in theoretischer Hinsicht fundiertes Nachwort, in welchem die Autoren Gelegenheit gehabt hätten die Einführung des Mikro-

typs (an dessen Nützlichkeit mancher Leser zweifeln wird) zu begründen. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes Typ ist „Grundform, Abbild bzw. Einheit, welche bestimmte gemeinsame, bezeichnende Eigenschaften vertritt“ (IdSzSz.); bzw. kann ja das Wort Typ mit verschiedenen Erweiterungen abgeleitet werden: etwas/jemand gehört in einen bestimmten Typ, etwas/jemand ist Stellvertreter eines bestimmten Typs, für jemand/etwas typisch, etwas ist für etwas eine typische Erscheinungsform. Nach diesen alltäglichen Interpretationen des Begriffs Typ klingen die Ausdrücke die Zeitformen als Typ, die Lokalkasus als Typ (ob Makro oder Mikro ist keine qualitative sondern eine quantitative Frage) komisch, jedenfalls ungewohnt, der nicht näher bestimmte Gebrauch des Begriffs Typ (Mikrotyp) erscheint unbegründet. Welche Aussage hat hier mehr Gehalt: „der eine Mikrotyp ist in einen anderen Mikrotyp übergegangen“ oder „aus dem finnisch-ugrischen Mikrotyp entstand ein tschuwassischer Mikrotyp“. Wenn klar ist, daß der Mikrotyp hier das Vergangenheitssystem ist, finnisch-ugrisch gleich finnisch-ugrischer Typ (für die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen bezeichnendes Vergangenheitsform) ist und tschuwassisch gleich tschuwassischer Typ (für das Tschuwassische Vergangenheitssystem mit mehreren Vergangenheitsformen) dann hätte man zweifellos diese Studie auch ohne Verwendung des Begriffs Mikrotyp schreiben können. Anscheinend entstammt die typologische Zielsetzung dieses Bandes nicht inneren Bedürfnissen, sondern sie ist eher eine von außen, von anderen übernommene Idee, deren Überprüfung ein sehr rühmliches Unterfangen ist. Es blieb aber lediglich beim Versuch, ein Versuch, der zunächst den erwarteten Erfolg noch nicht brachte.

Enikő Szij

Trevor Eaton (ed.): Essays in Literary Semantics. Contributors: A. P. Foulkes — Trevor Eaton — Roger Fowler — Paul Werth — Lubormír Doležal — David H. Hirsch. Julius Groos Verlag. Heidelberg 1978, 120 p.

The volume contains six studies which appeared originally in the *Journal of Literary Semantics*. Trevor Eaton, the Editor, has now republished here papers without any special comments. The volume is very instructive and shows clearly how the contributors are thinking about literary semantics. They connect the categories of validity and relation, they consider the concepts of modality and style to be of central importance, they try to reinterpret the linguistic concept of deep structure as a literary notion and to develop the theory of the speech act in order to account for written texts. The paper which presents the linguistic research on double image is very instructive. The studies contained in the volume are generally restating problems (which are sometimes of purely terminological character) and/or they are presenting earlier researches. English literary semantics represents one of the best known trends in the development of literary semantics. The volume clearly shows the comprehensiveness of the research, the sometimes tentative character of the solutions but it also testifies the fact that it is possible to approach important problems by means of the method chosen. Literary semantics represents an important field of research and is indispensable for both text linguistics and the theory of literature.

W. Voigt

Harald Haarmann: Die estnischen Grammatiken des 17. Jahrhunderts I—II—III. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1976—1977—1977. 44, XVI, 136, 144, 306; 18, 2, 114 S. (Fenno-Ugrica Bd. 2—3—4.)

In der neuen Serie, die der Veröffentlichung von finnisch-ugrischem Quellenmaterial ist, wurden die vier bedeutendsten

estnischen Grammatiken des 17. Jahrhunderts (photomechanisch reproduziert) herausgegeben. Es handelt sich (der Reihenfolge nach) um folgende Bücher: Heinrich Stahl: *Anführung zu der Esthnischen Sprache* (1637), Johann Gutsclaff: *Observationes grammaticae circa linguam Esthonicam* (1648), Heinrich Göseken: *Manuduction ad Linguam Oesthonicam* (1660) und Johann Hornung: *Grammatica Esthonica* (1693).

Die Reproduktion dieser außerordentlich wichtigen und raren Bücher wurde übrigens auch von anderer Seite erwogen, die jetzige Serie hat jedoch die Aufgabe in angemessener Form erfüllt. Obwohl die sprachliche Bearbeitung des veröffentlichten Materials anderswo und unter vielen Gesichtspunkten noch durchgeführt werden muß und jetzt bloß einige allgemeine einleitende Bemerkungen gemacht werden, ist die linguistische Bedeutung dieser Werke offensichtlich.

Diese Grammatiken sind die ersten Leistungen der baltischen Sprachforschung. Ihre Eigenartigkeit besteht darin, daß sie sich mit einer nicht-indogermanischen Sprache befassen. Für die estnische Sprachgeschichte ist interessant, daß es zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch keine „vereinheitlichte“ estnische Sprache gab; die Sprachlehren hielten den Unterschied zwischen den Norddialekten und Süddialekten fest. Auch in Anbetracht der Kirchengeschichte wäre es interessant, das hier in kodifizierter Form veröffentlichte Material mit den Bibelübersetzungen und mit den Psalmtexten zu vergleichen. Eine Bewertung des Materials aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Geschichte der lettisch-litauischen und sogar der deutschen Sprachwissenschaft wäre auch nicht überflüssig.

Mit dieser Ausgabe von angemessenem Niveau wurde ein außerordentlich wichtiges Material zugänglich gemacht. Diese Publikation ist auch vom Gesichtspunkt der ostseefinnischen Kulturgeschichte betrachtet nützlich, für die estnische Sprachgeschichte ist sie aber einfach unentbehrlich.

W. Voigt

Lembit Vaba: *Läti laensõnad eesti keelis* [Lettische Lehnwörter im Estnischen]. Valgus, Tallinn 1977, 303 S.

Die Erforschung der lettischen (und baltischen) Lehnwörter des Estnischen (und Ostseefinnischen) wurde schon vor mehr als hundert Jahren in Angriff genommen, seither wurden mehrere Hundert estnisch-baltische Wortzusammenstellungen verfertigt. Im forschungsgeschichtlichen Überblick des Werkes zählt der Verfasser ungefähr vierzig entsprechende Arbeiten auf und kommentiert ihre fraglichen bzw. gesicherten Ergebnisse. Im Spiegel der selbst nach vorsichtigsten Schätzungen ungefähr 1300 Jahre lettisch-estnischen Sprachkontakte ist die Zahl der Lehnwörter nicht übermäßig hoch. Langandauernde gleichförmige Lebensumstände und gleiches geschichtliches Los machten die Übernahme zahlreicher Lehnwörter möglich, andererseits fällt aber die Sprachgrenze nicht mit den heutigen Grenzen zusammen, es gibt ja jetzt auf dem Gebiet der Lettischen Sowjetrepublik einige estnische Sprachinseln im Gebiet Ludza/Lutsi bzw. Gulbene und Alūksne (letzteres Gebiet wird in der estnischen Dialektologie als „Leivu“-Dialektgebiet bezeichnet).

Dem einleitenden Vorwort folgen in mehreren Gruppen die estnischen Wörter lettischer Herkunft. Den allgemein bekannten Wörtern folgen in alphabetischer Reihenfolge diejenigen, welche nur im Lettland-Estnischen vorhanden sind. Hier wird, falls das Wort auch in der ersten Gruppe vorkommt, darauf hingewiesen. Bei jedem Wort werden die entsprechenden Daten angeführt, nach Möglichkeit wird auch genau die einschlägige Fachliteratur zitiert. (Zu bemängeln ist hier nur, daß zwar auf die volkskundlichen Parallelen verwiesen wird bei den Wörtern aber die entsprechenden Quellen nicht angeführt werden.) Ein eigenes Kapitel behandelt die Lautlehre, anschließend werden die Bedeutungsgruppen der Lehnwörter aufgezählt. Verständlich, daß hier Bezeichnungen der Landwirtschaft, der Viehhaltung

tung, der Fischerei, des Bauwesens, Pflanzen- und Tiernamen bzw. einige Krankheitsbezeichnungen überwiegen. Es wurden auch einige emphatische Ausdrücke, Ausrufungen, einige Verben, Adjektive und Adverbien ins Estnische übernommen, was den engen Sprachkontakt beweist. Der Verfasser behandelt eigens die Verbreitung der Lehnwörter im estnischen Sprachgebiet. Was die historischen Quellen betrifft, werden die älteren estnischen Druckwerke und die Werke der Volksdichtung eigens behandelt. Das Werk schließt mit einem ausführlichen russischen Resümee und mit der Bibliographie der benutzten Fachliteratur.

Die ausführliche Behandlung der mehr als 700 Wörter ist eine große Leistung in der baltischen bzw. ostseefinnischen Sprachwissenschaft. Der Verfasser ließ sich nicht in die Probleme der Geschichte und Ethnogenese ein, Aufgabe war eher die Bearbeitung des Datenmaterials, als Zeitpunkt der Entlehnungen werden die letztvergangenen Jahrhunderte bestimmt. Im Vergleich mit früheren ähnlichen Werken wird die Bedeutung der vorliegenden Monographie erst sichtbar. Zeps (*Latvian and Finnic Linguistic Convergences*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 9. Bloomington, 1962.) behandelte die lettischen Elemente bzw. Parallelen in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen und hat dabei ungefähr 300 estnische und mehr als 200 livische Wörter aufgearbeitet. Er bringt ebenfalls Landkarten mit der Verbreitung der Wörter im Sprachgebiet, die phonologische Analyse ist nicht nur äußerst genau sondern war seinerzeit auch in theoretischer Hinsicht eine neue Errungenschaft. Suhonens Dissertation (*Die jungen lettischen Lehnwörter im Livischen*, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia 154 Helsinki 1973) beinhaltet mehr als 2500 Angaben mit einem ausführlichen sprachwissenschaftlichen Apparat (die Anzahl der eigentlichen Lehnwörter ist aber geringer, da der Autor die auftretenden phonetischen bzw. graphematischen Varianten eigens zählt). Er beschäftigt sich auch mit Fragen der Kulturgeschichte und

Germanistik, da mit den lettischen Entlehnungen oft deutsche Wörter ins Livische übernommen wurden, deren gesellschaftlichen Hintergründe ins 16.–17. Jahrhundert verweisen. Eigentlich fehlt jetzt nur noch die Aufarbeitung der russischen Lehnwörter, die jedoch zumeist in jüngster Zeit übernommen wurden. Schade, daß Vaba auf die sprachgeographische Verbreitung der lettischen Wörter nicht verweist, was aufgrund der 1964 erschienenen ausgezeichneten lettischen Dialektmonographie von Rudzīte (*Latviešu dialektoloģija*) leicht möglich wäre. Die weiteren baltischen bzw. deutschen Parallelen der einzelnen lettischen Wörter sind höchstens aufgrund der zitierten Fachliteratur zu ahnen. Für die slawischen Verbindungen bietet bis heute das klassische Werk Trautmanns (*Baltisch-Slavisches Wörterbuch*, Göttingen, 1923) die meisten Daten. Von den sowjetischen Vertretern der baltischen Sprachwissenschaft stützt sich Nepokupnyj eher auf litauische als auf lettische Daten, Ivanov und Toporov stellen ebenfalls ältere bzw. preussische Materialien in den Vordergrund. Nichtsdestoweniger wäre es sinnvoll ihre Ergebnisse auch in Bezug auf die baltisch-ostseefinnischen Sprachkontakte zusammenzufassen. Hiermit vergleichbar und natürlich ebenfalls phonologisch ausgerichtet ist die Monographie T. M. Sudniks: *Dialekty litovsko-slavjanskogo pogranič'ja. Očerki fonologičeskikh sistem* (Moskau 1975), worin die Dialekte der bjelorussisch-litauischen Sprachgrenze untersucht werden. Dieses Werk kann bei der Wertung des Materials in Vabas Buch auch in theoretischer Hinsicht verwendet werden.

Vabas Monographie kann Ausgangspunkt für zukünftige sprach- und kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen sein. Es müßte auch an kontrastive Studien über die poetischen Systeme und über die Metrik in der Volksdichtung der beiden Sprachen gedacht werden. Dies war jedoch nicht die Aufgabe des Verfassers, diese Themenkreise müssen aber unter den noch zu erforschenden Problemen erwähnt werden. W. Voigt

László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki: Chuvash Folksongs. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979, 579 p. + 54 photographs.

Obwohl die Vorarbeiten schon 1958 begannen, wurde das Material von den Verfassern Universitätsprofessor für Finnougristik Gábor Bereczki und dem Ethnomusikologen László Vikár erst im Laufe von vier Expeditionen (1964, 1966, 1968, 1970) und zwei Ergänzungssammelfahrten (1974, 1975) auf Tonband aufgenommen. Der Band ist ein hervorragendes Monument der tschuwassischen Folkloristik und — im allgemeinen — der Volksmusikforschung des Wolga-Knies. Das Werk wird — da es in Englisch abgefaßt ist — offensichtlich den verdienten Weltruf erwerben. Der Aufbau des Bandes, seine Genauigkeit sind vorbildlich.

Das Vorwort stellt Zielsetzung und Material dar, bietet (zwar ohne Hinweise auf die Fachliteratur) einen soliden Überblick über die Ethnogeschichte der Tschuwasen, schließlich werden die Quellen und die Ergebnisse der Forschung über tschuwassische Volksmusik aufgezählt.

Ungarische Forscher befaßten sich schon seit dem vorigen Jahrhundert mit tschuwassischen Themen und auf die Anregung von Zoltán Kodály verfolgten sie auch die Eigenschaften der tschuwassischen Volksmusik mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit, da sie darin die Vorgeschichte und Parallelen der alten ungarischen Volksmusik zu entdecken meinten. Dieser forschungsgeschichtliche Überblick schließt mit der Schilderung der Sammlerarbeit der Verfasser. Daraus erfahren wir, daß insgesamt 651 Lieder aus 48 Ortschaften gesammelt wurden. Diese Ortschaften werden auch auf Landkarten angegeben und die musikalischen (!) Dialekte und ihre Eigenschaften werden gesondert erörtert. Die Vorstellung der Melodien und der Formen ist sehr ausführlich und verläßlich. Die Eingliederung in Gattungen steht in Zusammenhang mit der Schilderung der

Rolle, die die einzelnen Lieder im Volksleben spielen.

Eine kurze Skizze der tschuwassischen Sprache legt die Gesichtspunkte der Transkription dar. Die Schilderung der poetischen und stilistischen Züge ist kurz und praktisch. Die 350 Melodien werden mit phonetisch transkribiertem tschuwassischem Text veröffentlicht, auch die Varianten sind bezeichnet. Danach folgt die englische Übersetzung, auch die Daten über die Informanten sind hier zu finden.

Für den ungarischen Leser werden auch die ungarischen Übersetzungen der Liedertexte beigelegt. Seltsamerweise ist dies neben den tschuwassischen und englischen Texten auch notwendig, da man diese Weise anstatt Zweideutigkeiten eine dreifache Erklärung bekommt. Eine Reihe von musikalischen Indizes und einige kleinere Verzeichnisse schließen den Band, welcher auch die Anfangszeilen der einzelnen Lieder angibt. Das Literaturverzeichnis des Werkes zählt die musikalischen Publikationen auf und weist auch auf die philologischen Werke hin. Einen besonderen Wert schenken dem Band die vielen Photographien, die Informanten und einige Schauplätze darstellen und insgesamt eine unersetzliche Angabensammlung bilden.

Das Werk, das mit unerhörtem Fleiß und mit vorbildlicher Genauigkeit gefertigt wurde, gilt auch jetzt schon als unentbehrliches Handbuch. Zu seiner sprachwissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung sind separate Arbeiten notwendig, da neuer Dialektstoff, neue Gattungen, musikalische Formen auftauchen. Diese Arbeit wird Jahrzehnte in Anspruch nehmen. Dem Verlag gebührt Lob für die Herausgabe des Buches in solch würdigem Gewand und auch dafür, daß dieses Material relativ schnell, mit einem wissenschaftlichen Apparat von hohem Niveau den interessierten Folkloristen und Sprachforschern zugänglich gemacht wurde.

W. Voigt

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Ross, J. R.: Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT 1967.

Sauvageot, A.: Le problème de la parenté ougrienne. In: Etudes Finno-ougriennes 13 [1967], 123-142.

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(1) (a)	A	sólymaid	elszálltak
	the	falcon-gen-pl-2sg	away-flew-3pl
	'Your falcons have flown away'.		

Examples can be referred to in the text as (1a), (1a-d), etc.

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